Cultural Shifts and Ritual Transformations in Reformation Europe

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Cultural Shifts and Ritual Transformations in Reformation Europe

Essays in Honor of Susan C. Karant-Nunn

Edited by

Victoria Christman
Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer

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Dedicated to the memory of Anne Jacobson Schutte (1940–2018)
She pushed us to get going on this book
and very much wanted to contribute to the collection,
which she has as a teacher, mentor, and good friend

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Abbreviations

LW	Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: American Edition*, edited by Helmut T. Lehmann et al., 65 vols. (St. Louis: 1955–)
VD16	*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, http://www.vd16.de
W2	Johann Georg Walch, ed. *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, 23 vols. (St. Louis: 1881–1910)
WA	Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (*Weimarer Ausgabe*). *Abt. 1: Schriften*, 73 vols. (Weimar: 1883–1993)
WA BR	Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (*Weimarer Ausgabe*). *Abt. 4: Briefwechsel*, 18 vols. (Weimar: 1930–2001)
WA TR	Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (*Weimarer Ausgabe*). *Abt. 2: Tischreden*, 6 vols. (Weimar: 1912–21)
Z	Emil Egli et al., eds. *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, 21 vols. (Leipzig/Zurich, 1905–)

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Notes on Contributors

James J. Blakeley
graduated from the University of Arizona with a Ph.D. in History in 2006 after receiving his M.A. from Portland State University in 1999. He is currently Professor of History and department chair at St. Joseph's College, New York. His research and publications focus on rural, biconfessional communities in francophone Switzerland and how residents negotiated religious change during the Reformation.

Amy Nelson Burnett
is Paula and D. B. Varner University Professor of History at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, where she teaches early modern European history. Her research focuses on the dissemination of the Reformation through print, preaching, and educational reform. She is the author of *Debating the Sacraments: Print and Authority in the Early Reformation* (2019), and *The Companion to the Swiss Reformation* (with Emidio Campi, 2016).

Robert J. Christman
is Professor of History at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. His publications include *Doctrinal Controversy and Lay Religiosity in Late Reformation Germany: The Case of Mansfeld* (2012), *The Dynamics of the Early Reformation in their Reformed Augustinian Context* (2020), and numerous articles. His research focuses on the Reformation in the German speaking lands and in the Low Countries.

Victoria Christman
is Professor of History and Director of the Center for Ethics and Public Engagement at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. Her publications include *Pragmatic Toleration: The Politics of Religious Heterodoxy in Early Reformation Antwerp, 1515–1555* (2015) and *Topographies of Tolerance and Intolerance: Responses to Religious Pluralism in Reformation Europe* (with Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, 2018). Her research focuses on the early Reformation in the Low Countries.

Pia F. Cuneo
is Professor of Art History at the University of Arizona. Her research focuses on the culture of the horse in early modern Germany. Her recent publications

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include *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (with Alison G. Stewart, 2014) and essays/articles on the visual and textual evidence of professional, physical, emotional, and spiritual interactions between horse and human in the early modern period. She is currently working on a study of the horse as social and cultural agent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She competes locally in dressage.

Kathryn A. Edwards
is Professor of History at the University of South Carolina, where she specializes in the social and religious history of early modern France and Germany. Recipient of fellowships from the Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Historical Association, and other agencies, Dr. Edwards has written or edited five books, including *Leonarde's Ghost: Popular Piety and 'the appearance of a spirit' in 1628* (with Christophe Mercier and Susie Speakman Sutch, 2008), *Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe* (2016), *The Brill Companion to the Devil and Demons* (forthcoming), and *Living with the Dead: Ghosts in European Society from the Black Death to the Enlightenment* (forthcoming).

Ute Lotz-Heumann
is Director of the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies and Heiko A. Oberman Professor of Late Medieval and Reformation History at the University of Arizona. She is the author of *Die doppelte Konfessionalisierung in Irland: Konflikt und Koexistenz im 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (2000), a monograph on religious and political conflict in early modern Ireland. She has co-authored or edited nine volumes in Reformation and early modern history. Currently, she is working on two books about spas and healing waters in early modern Germany between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Amy Newhouse
is Professor of History at Lone Star College-Cy-fair in Houston, Texas. Her dissertation, entitled "Outside the Walls: Civic Belonging and Contagious Disease in Sixteenth Century Nuremberg" is primarily concerned with the movement of physical bodies and resources to extramural hospitals in early modern Nuremberg as a means to measure the belonging or worth of the extramural patients to the city. She has a chapter "The Mystery of the St. Sebastian Lazareth: Mapping Contagious Disease Care in Sixteenth Century Nuremberg" in the volume *Names and Naming in Early Modern Germany* edited by Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer and Joel Harrington (2019).

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Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer
is the Susan C. Karant-Nunn Chair for Reformation and Early Modern European History in the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies at the University of Arizona. Her publications include *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (2012; 2017). She is co-editor of *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany: Essays in Honor of H. C. Erik Midelfort* (with Robin Barnes, 2009), *Archeologies of Confession: Writing the German Reformation, 1517–2017* (with Carina L. Johnson, David Luebke, and Jesse Spohnholz, 2017; 2019), and *Topographies of Tolerance and Intolerance: Responses to Religious Pluralism in Reformation Europe* (with Victoria Christman, 2018).

Helmut Puff
is the Elizabeth L. Eisenstein Collegiate Professor of History, German, and Women's Studies at University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, USA. His teaching and research focus on German literature, history, and culture in the late medieval and early modern periods. He specializes in gender studies, the history of sexuality, media history, visual history, and Reformation studies. His publications include *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (2003) and *Miniature Monuments: Modeling German History* (2014).

Lyndal Roper
is Regius Professor of History at the University of Oxford and is the first woman to hold a Regius chair of History. She completed her first degree in Melbourne, Australia and her doctorate at the University of London under the supervision of the late Bob Scribner. She has written on witchcraft, gender and the Reformation, sexuality, and images in early modern Germany. Recently she published a biography of Martin Luther, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (2016).

Karen E. Spierling
is Associate Professor of History and the Director of the Global Commerce major at Denison University. She holds the Inaugural John and Heath Faraci Endowed Professorship for History, Global Commerce, and Financial Economics. Her books include *Infant Baptism in Reformation Geneva: The Shaping of a Community, 1536–1564* (2005; 2009), the edited volume, *Calvin and the Book: The Evolution of the Printed Word in Reformed Protestantism* (2015), and *Emancipating Calvin: Culture and Confessional Identity in Francophone Reformed Communities* (with Ward Holder and Erik A. de Boer, 2018).

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James Tracy
is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Minnesota. He graduated from St. Louis University (1959) and Princeton (1967). He has published monographs on Erasmus, on the province of Holland before and during the Dutch Revolt, and on Charles V, and has edited volumes on the rise of merchant empires and city walls. His most recent books are: *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 78, *Controversies* (with Manfred Hoffmann, 2011) and *Balkan Wars: Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia, and Venetian Dalmatia, 1497–1617* (2016).

Mara R. Wade
is Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her research interests include emblems, German and Scandinavian court culture, and gender studies. She is the editor-in-chief of *Emblematica: Essays in Text and Image* and PI for *Emblematica Online*. Her books include: *Emblem Digitization* (with Sara C. Smart, 2012), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613* (with Sara C. Smart, 2013), and *Gender Matters: Discourses of Violence in Early Modern Literature and the Arts* (2014). Her current book project is *Early Modern Intellectual Networks: Emblems as Open Sources*. She is President of the Renaissance Society of America. In 2018–2019 she was a Getty Research Scholar.

David M. Whitford
is Professor of Reformation Studies at Baylor University. He is the author of *A Reformation Life* (2015), *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era: The Bible and the Justification for Slavery* (2009), and the editor of *Martin Luther in Context* (2018). He is a senior editor of *The Sixteenth Century Journal*.

Charles Zika
is a Professorial Fellow in History and Chief Investigator in the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at the University of Melbourne. His interests lie in the intersection of religion, emotion, visual culture and print in early modern Europe. His books include *Love: Art of Emotion 1400–1800* (with Angela Hesson and Matthew Martin, 2017), *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700* (with Jennifer Spinks, 2016), and *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2007). Recent articles explore the Nuremberg carnival, violence in Reformation Europe, emotions and the visual arts, pilgrimage and emotions, King Saul and typology, the witch of Endor, and witchcraft imagery.

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Prologue

James J. Blakeley and Robert J. Christman

In the introduction to her first book, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside*, Susan Karant-Nunn threw down a gauntlet by proclaiming "the age is past when men look exclusively to the life and theology of Martin Luther for insight into the success of the German Reformation."[1] With this statement Karant-Nunn offered a dual critique—part explicit, part implicit—that was to mark her subsequent scholarship. She rejected the venerable tradition of Reformation history as a field whose exclusive focus was theology and the ideas of the social and political elites, Martin Luther chief among them, but with wonderful irony she also put the scholarly world on notice that Reformation history is not exclusively a man's world. By using the word "men" to refer to scholars of the Reformation, she signaled an end to a gendered and social exclusivity within that scholarship, while simultaneously claiming her own place and the place of all women among those who could legitimately take up its study. These aspects of Karant-Nunn's intellectual persona—a willingness to challenge scholarly assumptions and to defy traditional academic norms—define her scholarly career.

This anthology honors the career of a scholar who has succeeded in all the varied tasks expected of the modern academic, stretched the expectations for those functions, and executed it all with innovation, scholarly integrity, and unparalleled professionalism. She has been an inspiring and trusted mentor, not only to her own students at the universities where she taught, but also to countless other junior colleagues and contemporaries, as the spectrum of scholars included in this volume testifies. Karant-Nunn's commitment to the past and the future are evident in all aspects of her scholarly and professional career.

As a Ph.D. student in the 1960s, she traveled to East Germany, which still lay behind the Iron Curtain. There she forged connections with key scholars and mined the archives of Saxony and Thuringia long before Western academics could visit the region without significant paperwork and red tape. That she possessed the fortitude necessary to undertake these studies in the political and gender climate of East Germany in that era is a testament to Karant-Nunn's intellectual curiosity and personal determination. Further

1 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia: 1979), 6.

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reflective of her character is how subtly she could thank the authorities of the German Democratic Republic for access to the necessary archives while simultaneously excoriating the ideologically-driven nature of that country's historians. She even expressed regret at one point that in articulating certain of her findings she might provide "fuel for the fires of dogma [that] they [East German historians] so relentlessly, humorlessly, tend."[2]

Karant-Nunn's long and distinguished teaching career spanned almost fifty years. It began in 1970, when she accepted a position as assistant professor of history at Portland State University. During her 29 years there, she built an impressive scholarly profile despite a heavy teaching load, honing her ability to connect with and inspire students from a wide variety of backgrounds. Her classes at Portland State regularly filled in part because of her vibrant and informative lectures but also because of her willingness to assist students in wrestling with primary sources, improving their written work, and pointing them in the right direction for research. Interested students regularly sought her out to chat about history and the historical profession. For her dedication, Portland State chose Karant-Nunn as the first woman and first junior professor recipient of the prestigious Branford Price Millar award for faculty excellence in teaching, scholarship, and service.

In 1999, she accepted a position at the University of Arizona, where she spent nearly two decades (1999–2018), first as associate professor and Assistant Director of the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies, and ultimately as Regents' Professor of History. With Heiko Oberman's untimely death in 2001, Karant-Nunn assumed directorship of the Division. Recognizing the difficult situation in which Oberman's grieving students found themselves, she supported and mentored them regardless of where they were in their doctoral studies, from their first semester to their last. With an awareness of the important role of rituals in academic life, she continued key traditions of the Division, among them the weekly Thursday evening seminar required of all graduate students in residence. At the same time, she modified aspects of the seminar, expanding its scope to better prepare students for the job market, including new topics of study that drew on her own expertise in cultural and social history, and inviting professors outside the field of Reformation studies and even outside the discipline of history to teach the course. This new direction drew on Karant-Nunn's conviction that history is enriched when methods from other arenas of academic study inform the historian's craft. Her sensitive guidance of the Division students at the University of Arizona is echoed in the myriad other mentoring relationships she fostered over the course of

2 Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, 13.

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her career with other young scholars who currently populate the world of Reformation history and early modern studies, several of whom have works included in this volume.

Well known for her support of the field of Reformation Studies and her collegiality, Karant-Nunn performed significant professional service at and beyond her university positions. In 2001, she took on the unanticipated task of fund-raising for the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies, a goal she pursued with characteristic determination. Over the course of the next two decades she raised the money necessary to endow two chairs, ensured the preservation of Oberman's extensive personal library in Special Collections in the University of Arizona Libraries, and secured endowments for language study and research trips for graduate students, thereby preserving the field of Late Medieval and Reformation Studies at the University of Arizona. Aware of the importance of public outreach to the local community, she continued the traditions of the St. Philip's Summer Lecture Series and the annual Town and Gown lectures as well as giving public lectures, thereby maintaining an interest in the Reformation in Tucson.

Over the course of her career, she sat on numerous editorial boards of book series and journals, organized conferences, and served as a member of dissertation committees throughout the United States and Europe. Her peers elected her president of the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference (1990–91) and the Society for Reformation Research (2012–13), and appointed her as the North American managing editor of the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (1998–2009) alongside Anne Jacobson Schutte. Among the first women in her field, Karant-Nunn helped pave the way for many others to follow by her example and through the mentoring of young scholars. In 2018 the Society for Reformation Studies awarded her the Bodo Nischan Award for scholarship, civility, and service in recognition of these contributions.

While the work that Karant-Nunn has done as a professor and as an active member of early modern scholarly community is well known and deeply appreciated by those who worked with her, it is her scholarship that has gained international recognition in the broader academic community. In five monographs and numerous articles, she has pursued new fields and asked new questions, moving from a social historical focus to the urban Reformation and on to wider questions of gender and cultural history. In doing so, she has combined a broad-based knowledge gleaned from the archives with new methodological approaches, thereby pushing the boundaries of history through her provocative and sometimes controversial conclusions. Through it all, however, runs a common theme, a deep interest in the lived experience of people from across the social spectrum. Put another way, she has investigated how individuals and

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groups experienced the Reformation, its ideas, its expectations for morals and behavior, its rituals, its impact on gender and gender roles, and its influence on the emotional life of those from the various confessions that arose in its wake.

This volume traces the influence of Karant-Nunn's scholarship and highlights the contributions she has made to Reformation and Early Modern Studies and to the careers of other scholars engaged in the field over the last half century. As the articles in this volume attest, Karant-Nunn has broken new ground in our understanding of the past, employed new methods by which we seek to recover and understand it, introduced new subjects on which to focus, and influenced the work of younger scholars in unexpected ways. The editors of this volume have divided its submissions into four sections which, roughly speaking, approximate the various foci of Karant-Nunn's work and follow the progress of its development.

Section one, "The Early Reformation in Saxony" includes essays that connect geographically to Karant-Nunn's dissertation research and first two monographs. In her first book, *Luther's Pastors*, she produced a social history of the earliest Lutheran pastors about whom she concluded, "Probably no group suffered more in the religious flux of the 1520s than the clergy."[3] Later she turned her attention to another eastern German topic, publishing the first full-length and in-depth study of Zwickau, the second city in Germany to be reformed. There she analyzed the links between Reformation and society, at the same time calling for a broadening of the research agenda for the field of Reformation Studies: "Not only should *historians* study the Reformation, but they should be prepared to find concrete reasons—social, economic, and political as well as religious reasons—for its appeal," before adding, "We in the historical profession today are more determined than our predecessors to recover all aspects of the life of the common man."[4] The chapters in section one reflect Karant-Nunn's effort to recover all aspects of life, not just the intellectual.

David Whitford uses Karant-Nunn's work as a roadmap to understand what motivated Martin Luther's choice of words and images. Specifically, he notes that in 1520 Luther began employing the scandalous metaphor of the "whore-bride" to illustrate his theological concepts of justification by faith and the imputation of righteousness. A whore-bride was a sinner who found justification

3 Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, 8.

4 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Zwickau in Transition, 1500–1547: The Reformation as an Agent of Change* (Columbus: 1987), 4, emphasis in the original.

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through marriage to Christ. But just as suddenly as the metaphor appeared, Luther stopped using it in 1525. Whitford looks for answers to explain its disappearance and determines that it was Luther's own experience as protector and matchmaker for nuns leaving the convents after 1523 that influenced his choice of words. Real life, it seems, impacts ideas; personal experience shapes mental worlds.

Lyndal Roper expands on this idea to consider the Reformation more broadly, questioning its inability to accommodate the agency of women. Taking her point of departure from the question of why Katarina von Bora was not included in the domestic scene produced by the workshop of Lucas Cranach that served as a cover illustration for the earliest version of Luther's *Table Talk*, she offers a close analysis of that image and other works by the Cranach workshop over the course of the Reformation. The absence of women from domestic scenes acts as a window into the nature of Luther's masculinist rhetoric, the Reformation's difficulties in representing the marriages and households of its leadership, and the complex effects of the Reformation on gender. Clearly not just theology, but also social and cultural expectations impacted the visual and rhetorical contours of the Reformation.

Politics and warfare did as well. In her study of Lucas Cranach the Younger's *Conversion of Paul*, Pia F. Cuneo considers a variety of contexts—"visual, textual, theological, and political discourses"—to understand this painting that exhibits an image of Lutheran identity composed in a time of crisis. In 1547, the Protestant princes of the Schmalkaldic League had been defeated by imperial forces at the Battle of Mühlberg and internal divisions caused rifts in the Reformation movement. The painting depicts these differences and conflicts in the emotional responses of the humans, but especially the central image of the horse genuflecting at a profound moment: the conversion of Paul. Cuneo discovers that not only are "politics and theology" represented in the painting, but horsemanship as well. The portrayal of both horses and riders and their interactions with one another assist the viewer in understanding the political and theological issues current as Cranach completed the painting.

Finally, Beth Plummer focuses not on the experience of the "common man," but on the fate of former nuns and those who remained in convents in Ernestine Saxony. Noting that in her first book Karant-Nunn found that many pastors and their families lived in decrepit houses and experienced significant hardship, Plummer demonstrates a similar experience among nuns and former nuns. Using petitions for aid to various authorities by these women as her primary source base, she relates the financial difficulties they faced as they reached middle age and suffered health problems, a vivid reminder of the lived outcomes of the Reformation.

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Much of section two, "Devotional Ritual and Popular Religion," finds corollaries in Karant-Nunn's next monograph, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*, with its emphasis on the means by which most people actually encountered and experienced the Reformation: not via the Latinate theological treatises of the intellectual elites, or even, for that matter, the sermons of their pastors, but in the rituals of the church that marked daily existence and key points of transition in a person's lifetime. In this study Karant-Nunn extends her geographic scope beyond Saxony and Thuringia to the West, at the same time situating her work "in that body of literature that deals with the concepts of confessionalization and social discipline."[5] She confronts her colleagues for excluding the Reformation from examination by newer historical methods inspired by anthropology and other social sciences noting, in particular, that German scholars from inside evangelical circles "have been reluctant to apply newer methodologies to their subject matter, perhaps fearful that the glare of non-denominational, interdisciplinary scrutiny would undermine their founders' authority."[6] The Reformation was too important an event to be left to those with a vested interest in shaping its portrayal. This combination of a focus on the methods by which elites in society attempted to articulate ideas associated with the Reformation beyond the written word and the employment of new methods inspired by the social sciences, have helped to push Reformation studies in new directions, and away from a strict focus on theology, ideas, and elites. The interaction between elite culture and the laity provides the key point of connection in Karant-Nunn's investigation of ritual.

Results of such a focus can be seen across the chapters included in section two. Amy Nelson Burnett investigates cultural elites and other literate champions of Reformation theology. In her contribution, she not only addresses the content of their message, but the means and methods they used to articulate it. She finds that they generally employed two approaches to convince others of their views: controversy (*Streitkultur*), in which they attacked the positions of their opponents; and persuasion, in which they attempted to convince individuals and groups to take up their positions. Both were used in the first public disputation devoted specifically to the Lord's supper, the Flensburg Disputation of 1529. Burnett analyzes the different objectives of the two sides in light of two different media via which the debate was disseminated: the

5 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: 1997), 5.

6 Ibid., 1.

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debate itself and the reports of it published afterwards. Ultimately, despite the fact that arguments for one position (persuasion) and against another (controversy) are two sides of the same coin, she finds that the groups deployed modes of argumentation very differently in each medium.

Ute Lotz-Heumann explores the phenomenon of Holy Wells in both Catholic and Lutheran territories throughout Germany, another area in which elite and popular culture meet. She reveals the "complex negotiations" that clergy and laity used to give the sites social and religious meaning and determine the "healing practices" connected to them. That holy wells and healing waters were aspects of both confessions demonstrates that the supernatural was a "part of everyday life" in early modern Germany despite the differing interpretations the respective clergy gave to their congregants.

Kathryn Edwards, too, finds a great deal of overlap between elite clergy and commoners regarding beliefs about what might be considered a popular religious issue, the existence and capacities of saints and ghosts. In her article "Distinguishing Between Saints and Spirits. Or how to Tell the Difference Between the Virgin Mary and Mary the Ghost?" she analyzes trial records as well as the writings of confessional elites, concluding that despite the fact that Catholics and Protestants had differing views of what sainthood entailed, beliefs surrounding the appearance and efficacy of saints and ghosts crossed confessional boundaries and lay and learned culture.

In section three of this volume, "Cultural History and the Religious and Political Self," the editors pay homage to Karant-Nunn's interests as they moved in the direction of cultural history. The focus of all three articles in this section on political elites provides an important reminder of the breadth of her interests. Although much of her work has focused on the common woman and man, she has also worked to understand elite culture, its members, their goals, and their efforts to shape belief and behavior more broadly. But she has always done so with an eye toward the wider culture, the broader context, and their influence upon elites, an approach reflected in the articles in this section.

James Tracy's submission analyzes the circular letter of the Austrian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, David Ungnad, asking how a Lutheran diplomat who represented the Catholic Hapsburgs from 1573–1578 in the Sublime Port could rally his co-religionists to support his Muslim masters. For Ungnad, religious differences were of less importance than the "immediate and unrelenting" threat posed by Ottoman border incursions. Knowledge of his audience allowed him to employ Protestant images and themes that he knew would resonate with them, including: "the wrath of God," God's "just punishment," and the expectation that God would "heed to the prayers of true Christians." For some elites, even those whose religious convictions ran deep, adherence

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to confession was secondary under certain circumstances. Political concerns could take primacy.

Tensions in and the relationship between religion and familial obligations form the center point of Mara Wade's examination of two emblem books that female relatives gave to Dorothea Princess of Anhalt, future wife of Duke August of Brunswick-Luneburg, during her childhood. The purpose of the books was to inculcate in her the "ethical tenets generally associated with Protestantism," but they also served as *Stammbücher* (friendship books), a popular genre at the time, in which she recorded encounters with members of her extended family. Although their content is religious instruction, the books ultimately reflect the many boundaries that Dorothea would cross in her lifetime including the "linguistic and intellectual, dynastic and geographic," as well as the religious.

Victoria Christman explores yet another aspect of elite political life as it connects to broader cultural issues, this time raising the question of gender and political power. Focusing on Mary of Hungary's own judgement of her reign, which she characterized as a failure due to the "inherent weakness of her sex," Christman challenges Mary's view and demonstrates that, in fact, Mary was an accomplished, determined, and strategic ruler in a man's world. Particularly in matters of religion she charted her own course and demonstrated an independent mind. Christman argues that, in her efforts to abdicate her position, Mary's appeal to gender stereotypes may actually have been a conscious component of a broader political strategy.

Section four, "Culture in Motion: Emotion, Space, and Gender," reflects Karant-Nunn's most recent work as she moved further into gender and cultural history. Her sourcebook, edited with Merry Wiesner-Hanks and entitled *Luther on Women*, is an attempt to "open the floor to a wider discussion of the significance for women of the religious and associated institutional changes of the sixteenth century," something that she and many others have since pursued in greater detail.[7] In her book *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany*, Karant-Nunn explores the role of feeling and emotions in an effort to disseminate beliefs held as orthodox among Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics. Of the nexus between teaching (and, therefore, learning) and emotion she writes, "astute preachers sifted out the essence of otherwise complicated teachings, striving … to persuade, to sow the seeds of conviction deep, to mold behavior, and, as I am arguing, to generate those feelings that would undergird faith as well as sustain all aspects

7 Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, eds. and trans., *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: 2003), 2.

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of the aspired-to Christian life-in-community."[8] Lived experience, the complete human being, she suggests, are key aspects of the Reformation's appeal, themes also found in her most recent monograph, *The Personal Luther: Essays on the Reformer from a Cultural Historical Perspective*.

Drawing on a career's worth of knowledge, in that work, Karant-Nunn responds to "a number of subliminal or neglected themes," as she refers to them, regarding Martin Luther and his life. As she has throughout her career, she attempts to prod and coax the field of Reformation History in new directions, noting in her introduction, "I also hope to show that perspectives of cultural historians offer the broadest possible evidentiary base within which to analyze a figure of the past. Cultural history is an expanding and boundless concept. It enjoins the researcher to place the historical object of investigation in the fullest context."[9] She then goes on to outline the types of knowledge one must possess to execute such a "cultural historical approach to Luther's search for a Heavenly Father who loves him and to whom he can relate," an approach that, notes Karant-Nunn, "will differ markedly from the treatment of the same subject by a systematic theologian."[10] In fact, the cultural historian must include aspects of life and sixteenth century practice as diverse as Luther's mental world, knowledge of his family and neighbors, social norms, the life of the body and sensory experience, expressions of the artwork that surrounded him, the sounds of the street and nature, and the smells of that era, fully immersing the scholar in the experience of the subject.

Taking as his point of departure Karant-Nunn's demonstration of compassion as a dominant script of Christian life from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century, Charles Zika analyzes the visual evidence from portrayals of Calvary and Crucifixion scenes from the period. His goal is to determine whether claims of an increasing compassion for those condemned to die as articulated and demanded in judicial manuals are reflected in the treatment of the two malefactors crucified with Christ on Calvary. Zika points out that during this period, all the participants in the execution process understood compassion not as an effort to alleviate the suffering of the condemned, but rather as a means to ensure that such suffering had an edifying effect that led to a good death.

8 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: 2010), 6.

9 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Personal Luther: Essays on the Reformer from a Cultural Historical Perspective* (Leiden: 2018), xiii.

10 Karant-Nunn, *The Personal Luther*, xiii.

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Masculinity in the sixteenth century, a key focus in some of Karant-Nunn's most recent work as it relates to Martin Luther, is the subject of Helmut Puff's contribution to this volume. Puff agrees with other scholars that the early modern period was an important time for the definition of masculinity often termed "mercenary masculinity," but Puff questions the degree to which this form of masculinity was monolithic. Using artistic representations and other material culture, Puff explores how artists were able to simultaneously underscore this vision of masculinity, while distancing themselves from it.

The cultural history of the body, boundaries, smellscapes, and cloth are the subject of Amy Newhouse's chapter. Newhouse investigates the efforts of early modern Nuremberg's city fathers to address and control disease as it related to space broadly within an urban area, as well as more specifically and individually with regard to covering individual bodies with a barrier of cloth. Part of an increased historiographical focus on the physical elements shaping early modern political, social, and cultural life, Newhouse concludes that the civic effort to confine the smell of diseased bodies was one means by which municipalities controlled the landscape of the city.

In her article addressing women and the Genevan consistory, Karen Spierling provides a nuanced understanding of the Reformation by challenging the notion that the consistory was entirely a body in which elite men imposed certain views on their social inferiors and women. She offers a new approach to understanding the ways various groups might use the consistory to establish social norms by investigating the meaning of the term "scandal" in the context of Geneva during this period. She demonstrates how women called before that body accused one another of scandal, and by applying their own nuanced usage of the term, took part in the negotiation of its definition.

The varied content and methodology of the articles in this section serve as clear evidence of the possibilities that Karant-Nunn opened for cultural history. It is truly limitless. Despite the fact that the editors of this volume have divided its articles neatly into sections that reflect the progression of Karant-Nunn's intellectual journey, the perceptive reader will quickly recognize the influence and inspiration of the entire spectrum of her oeuvre across each of the sections. That that influence reflects many of the broader trends in the study of the Reformation should come as no surprise: to a significant degree, such developments have Karant-Nunn to thank.

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PART 1

The Early Reformation in Saxony

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CHAPTER 1

Simultaneously Bride and Whore: Martin Luther, the Bride of Christ, and the Limits of Hyperbole

David M. Whitford

Martin Luther loved whores. Not actual prostitutes—those he seemed to have hated with a visceral, even cruel, antipathy. In their compendium of Luther's writings on women, Susan Karant-Nunn and Merry Wiesner-Hanks offer a disturbing example from Luther's *Table Talk* where, while sitting at dinner, he angrily called for the prostitutes of Wittenberg to be broken on the wheel. He seemed particularly angered by the belief that they were (perhaps even purposefully) spreading syphilis. He returns again and again to the disease in his diatribe. It is perhaps not inconsequential that syphilis played an important role in Philipp of Hesse's bigamy, which Luther endorsed in 1539. His secret endorsement was revealed in 1540, to Luther's utter embarrassment. He was not a man who took public humiliation well, and some of his venom was likely connected to the lingering public effects of Philipp's bigamy.[1]

As a metaphor and foil, however, whores were one of his favorites. He used the word "whore," "whores," "little whores," and other variations more than 1500 times in his works.[2] By contrast, Luther used the word "Antichrist," one of his other favorite epithets, fewer than 500 times. Luther liked whores as a rhetorical device and used them throughout his career. One can find a reference to whores in nearly every volume of the Weimarer Ausgabe. Luther's use of whores was, in a way, natural and even biblical. There was a tradition among medieval monastics and mystics that used prostitutes to speak of the fallen human condition.

1 Martin Luther, *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook*, trans. Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner (Cambridge, UK: 2003), 157–58. For the German, see WA TR 4, no. 4857, 552–53 (13 May 1543). For a discussion of Luther's role in Philipp of Hesse's bigamy, see David M. Whitford, "'It Is Not Forbidden that a Man May Have More Than One Wife': Luther's Pastoral Advice on Bigamy and Marriage," in *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. David Luebke and Mary Lindemann (New York: 2014), 14–30.

2 I was able to identify over 900 uses in German and nearly 600 in Latin using the online edition of the Weimarer Ausgabe.

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Of course, references to prostitutes appear throughout the Old and New Testaments. As with Luther, there is a sense of provocation and hyperbole in the biblical references to prostitutes. The Hebrew word *zānāh* is often translated as "harlot," "whore," or "prostitute." It is most often used adjectively and is either applied directly to a woman, as in Josh. 2, when Rahab is described as a harlot, or allegorically, where Israel or Judah is described as a harlot, one who has forsaken fidelity to YHWH for sin and vice. Thus, the concept is popular among Old Testament Prophets. Hosea's wife is called a harlot in Hosea 1:2. Isaiah calls Jerusalem a harlot in Isa. 1:21. Ezek. 16 includes an extended allegory of the whoredom of Jerusalem.[3] The New Testament employs two words often translated as either prostitute, harlot, or whore: *pornē* and *hetaera*. Again, harlot could be applied to particular women, as in Matt. 21, which references tax collectors and prostitutes believing in Jesus. The New Testament also has allegorical uses, most famously the Whore of Babylon in Rev. 17; however, neither word is applied to the woman caught in adultery in John 8, nor to the "woman sinner" in Luke that dries Jesus's feet with her hair. Both women, however, have often been represented in Christian exegesis as prostitutes. Often, both are conflated with Mary Magdalene.[4]

Luther liked word play and reveled in paradox but loved hyperbole to hammer home theological points. In the now-famous "sin boldly" letter to Philipp Melanchthon, Luther used hyperbole to underscore the radical nature of justification by faith, writing, "No sin will separate us from the Lamb, even though we commit fornication and murder a thousand times a day."[5] Though it might seem extraordinary, committing fornication or murder a thousand times a day was not Luther's most provocative use of hyperbole at the time he wrote Melanchthon from the Wartburg. Beginning in 1520, Luther started to use another metaphor to explain his new understandings of justification by faith and the imputation of righteousness—"the whore-bride of Christ." He only used the metaphor for about five years; it all but disappeared after 1525. The image of the whore-bride appeared rather suddenly, though it is possible to trace its development such that its appearance makes logical sense. It also disappeared rather suddenly. In what follows, I trace its development and then

3 Luther's use of Ezek. 16 is discussed below.

4 For more on the status and roles of women in the Old and New Testament, including many articles on the literary and figurative uses of prostitutes, see Peter Harkins and Lesleigh Stahlberg, eds., *From the Margins 1: Women of the Hebrew Bible and Their Afterlives* (Sheffield: 2009); Christine E. Joynes and Christopher Rowland, eds., *From the Margins 2: Women of the New Testament and Their Afterlives* (Sheffield: 2009). The composite Magdalene is discussed below.

5 Luther to Philipp Melanchthon, 1 August 1521, LW 48, 282; WA BR 2, no. 424, 372.

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offer a possible rationale for its disappearance. I believe that the work of Susan Karant-Nunn provides a roadmap one can follow to help solve the mystery of its disappearance.

Karant-Nunn began her career as a historian of the Reformation by examining the ways in which local pastors across sixteenth-century Saxony attempted to establish a new theological vision among their flocks. She peered deeply into these parishes and into the lives of the pastors who led them. If the Reformation was to succeed, it would do so through those pastors. What Karant-Nunn did was to demonstrate how very much the "pattern of the pastors' lives" affected the course of the Reformation.[6] The Reformation was certainly theological, but what Karant-Nunn has demonstrated throughout her academic career is that it was also always an embodied thing. It was lived out, preached and proclaimed, damaged or uplifted by people, often ordinary people, going through life. In more recent years, Karant-Nunn has deepened this examination by looking into the emotional timbre of the Reformation and even more specifically into the life, emotions, and humor of Martin Luther. What this article hopes to do is weave together these different strands of Karant-Nunn's career—the lived experience of the Reformation and the specific experience of Luther—by examining Luther's use of the whore-bride metaphor in the early 1520s as he attempted to institute a new theological vision.

The concept of the whore-bride of Christ was a scandal, and thus served Luther's theological purposes by shocking people so much that they had to think through what it implied. Hearing of a whore-bride was likely no less shocking in the sixteenth-century sermon than it would be today. Indeed, to call someone a "whore" was considered slanderous enough that people sometimes filed legal complaints.[7] Beginning in 1525, however, I believe that Luther's personal life invaded his public and theological life, and in this case the personal made the continued use of that metaphor impossible. Luther's life experience forced him to change and amend his theological vocabulary, permanently setting aside a favorite theological metaphor.

6 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia: 1979), 6.

7 For a discussion of the slanderous nature of calling someone a whore in early modern Germany, see Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: 2008), 42–51. See also Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (New York: 2005), especially 75–76; Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Aldershot, UK: 2012), especially 45–46.

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1 Luther's Earliest Use of Whore Metaphors

Perhaps Luther's earliest use of prostitutes as a rhetorical device appears in a short homily he preached in Advent 1514. The exact audience of the homily is uncertain, but its length and focus suggest it was given to his fellow friars at the Augustinian cloister in Wittenberg. Earlier in 1514, he had taken up preaching duties at the city church, St. Mary's, but this homily has the hallmarks of his sermons to fellow monks. The text of the day was John 1:23, John the Baptist's voice crying in the wilderness, "make straight the way of the Lord." Luther opened the homily by summarizing John the Baptist's call to repentance. John's baptism of repentance with water must lead to Christ's baptism in the Spirit. According to Luther, John was not calling just for outward obedience, but also and especially for inward obedience. Turning to his audience, he faulted their empty religiosity. The preacher likened his unfortunate listeners to the Pharisees, the priests, and the Levites. They appeared outwardly holy. They attempted to justify themselves before God and humankind, but inwardly they distorted and corrupted the Laws of God. Even worse, they lay in wait for John, whom they wished to silence and behead just as much as King Herod, so that they might, like him, return to their "whorish lusts."[8]

A week later, again in a sermon before the friars, he preached on Matt. 23. Once more, Luther used scripture as an opportunity to discuss the difference between outward appearance and inward obedience. In Matthew, the scribes and Pharisees believe they are holy and righteous. Christ, however, issues a series of imprecatory judgements against them for their hypocrisy. Luther picked up on this and contrasted the scribes and Pharisees to tax collectors and prostitutes. In the sermon, prostitutes are an example of those who would hear the Gospel and obey because they truly understand the gravity of their sins. The use of a prostitute as an illustrative example of true repentance is a very medieval homiletical trope, best exemplified by the life and repentance of Mary Magdalene. In the medieval era, Mary Magdalene was conflated with the woman caught in adultery and was assumed to be a prostitute.[9] In Luther's sermon, it is the scribes and Pharisees who believe that they live without sin. They have a false sense of security and thus a false obedience. In general, both

8 Homily, Third Sunday of Advent, 1514, WA 1, 107–109, here 109.

9 For an examination of the ways in which the Reformation amended Luther's (and others') view of Mary Magdalene, see David M. Whitford, "The Moste Folyshe Fable of the Worlde: Preaching the Maudlin after the Reformation," in *Calvinus Pastor Ecclesiae: Papers of the Eleventh International Conference on Calvin Research*, eds. Herman J. Selderhuis and Arnold Huijgen (Göttingen: 2016), 449–63. There are scores of still extant exempla of the Magdalene's repentance. Perhaps the most famous can be found in Jacobus of Voragine's *Golden Legend.*

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sermons were in keeping with Luther's overall theological vision in 1514 and 1515. The problem that faced Christianity, in his view, was not works righteousness; it was lukewarm or weak Christians, the sort who did not strive hard enough after the Kingdom of Heaven.[10] Luther used whores or whorish attributes to drive home two connected, if paradoxical points. Adjectively, prostitutes were the embodiment of fleshly carnality and, more generally, all sinfulness. Used illustratively, it was their very debasement that made them a useful foil to the false and lukewarm Christianity of contemporary scribes, Pharisees, and fellow monks who did not live Christ-like lives of holiness but still thought themselves holier than others. Christ came to proclaim the Gospel to prostitutes and tax collectors.[11] What Luther wanted his listeners to understand was that all people were sinners before God and that the only medicine that would heal them of this sickness was "work of God and gift of his righteousness."[12] These remedies ought to provoke in the friars not the boastfulness of the scribes, but the fear and trembling of the sick man taking his medicine.[13]

The motif of healing dovetailed nicely with yet another use of prostitutes in Luther's writings from the mid-1510s, when he described the newly healed Christian's union with Christ. There were many metaphors that theologians, pastors, and even mystics used to explain the Christian's union with Christ, but one of the most pervasive was the so-called "Bride of Christ," Christ the bridegroom united with the healed sinner in a joyful exchange of grace. It was a favorite metaphor of Bernard of Clairvaux, who was largely responsible for popularizing it among monastic preachers, and it was used by Luther as early as 1515. Bernard was particularly fond of the bride metaphor in his *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, where it grew naturally out of the scriptural text.[14] The image was an amplification of Eph. 5, wherein the Apostle Paul declares that the church as a whole was Christ's bride, but it also built on another nuptial scripture, namely the Bride of Canticles. In the Old Testament book Song of Songs (in Latin, *Canticum canticorum*, whence the alternate English title "Canticles"), King Solomon wrote love poems to a lover and bride. Bernard of

10 For example, see WA 3, 416–17; LW 10, 351.

11 "*iniustis et peccatoribus, publicanis et meretricibus*." Sermon, Fourth Sunday of Advent, 1514, WA 1, 30–37, here 31.

12 WA 1, 37.

13 WA 1, 37.

14 For examples, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera, ad fidem codicum recensuerunt*, vol. 1 [hereafter as SBO 1], eds. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais (Rome: 1957), 14, 15, 18. The Sermons were among the Bernardine texts well known to Luther. For the latter connection, see Franz Posset, *Pater Bernhardus: Martin Luther and Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo, MI: 2000), 199.

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Clairvaux interpreted these poems allegorically so that Solomon represented Christ and the lover the soul of the Christian. Through repentance and the gifts of grace, this bride was washed clean; she was pure and loving, but, as the Canticles progressed, the lover strayed. Older interpreters had seen the bride's betrayal of her marital vows as a symbol of Israel's apostasy and faithlessness. For Bernard, the bridegroom, Christ, remained faithful just as YHWH had remained faithful to Israel. The bride/Israel faced punishment as a faithless spouse would feel the wrath of a betrayed husband. YHWH's steadfast love endured, however, even through the moments of righteous anger. In Bernard's reading, the once purified soul slipped back into its lustful, carnal desires. The Bride of Christ had become a harlot.[15]

Luther's earliest extant use of the faithless wife of Canticles appears in a sermon fragment from 1515.[16] He continued to use the figure into the 1520s, often calling her the *meretricis canticum*, the "Whore of Canticles."[17] However, by then his new theological vision of justification by faith would transform the allegory that he had inherited from Bernard in significant ways. As the 1510s turned towards the 1520s, the faithlessness of the bride was reenvisioned to serve his new theological view of salvation.

The first step on that journey can be seen in a theological disputation prepared for the graduation of Bartholomew Bernhardi in July 1516. By that point, Luther had finished lecturing on the Psalms, his first series as Wittenberg's new professor of the Old Testament. In preparing those lectures, Luther depended upon the French exegete Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples' recently published commentary on the Psalms. Luther learned much from Lefèvre beyond just the individual points of Psalm interpretation. It was Lefèvre who first used the phrase "grace alone" when referring to justification.[18] Almost immediately,

15 Bernard would at times employ the phrase *sancta peccatrix* or "holy sinner." For example, preaching on Song 1:1, he called his hearers to prostrate themselves at Christ's feet in humility, just as "the holy sinner laid down her sins and clothed herself with sanctity" (SBO 1, 15).

16 Sermon Fragment, 15 November 1515, WA 1, 52.

17 Lectures on Isaiah Chap. 23 (1528), WA 31/2, 130.

18 "Salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam … da michi salutem aeternam non quia dignus sim, non quia meritus sim, sed ob solam miserationem et gratiam tuam." Jacques [Jacobus Faber Stapulensis] Lefèvre d'Estaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium* (Paris: 1509), 11v (ellipses are in the original). Luther also used Lefèvre's commentary on Romans for his lectures a year later. Luther's famous comment on Rom. 1:17 bears the imprint of Lefèvre's influence. On that same verse, Lefèvre writes, "At quartet quispiam: quomodo iustitia dei in evangelio revelatur ex fide in fidem. Iustitia dei christus dominus est, qui ex fide in fidem, in evangelio revelatur." Jacques [Jacobus Faber Stapulensis] Lefèvre d'Estaples, *Epistolae Divi Pauli Apostoli: Cum Commentariis* (Paris: 1512), 68v.

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Luther began to incorporate that language into his own theological lexicon. In 1516, he began to lecture on Romans and famously used Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*. He combined what he had learned from Lefèvre with the new theological and exegetical principles clarified by Erasmus. Among the latter, the most important was a new understanding of "imputed righteousness." Erasmus taught Luther to conceive of the righteousness of God not as something reputed (*reputare*) to the Christian, but rather as a free gift imputed by grace alone (*imputare*).[19] The Bernhardi Disputation, as it has come to be called, is important because it is the first time Luther used imputation in this new way.[20] For our purposes, it is also important because it is in this disputation that Luther first modified his understanding of the New Testament's prostitutes and tax collectors that he noted in the sermon on Matt. 23. While they are still examples of deep sin, he does not focus on their repentance. Because they were prostitutes or tax-collectors, they could not have earned God's grace; their lives were simply too sinful to have any righteousness reputed to them. God's grace simply bestowed righteousness on them.

This disputation, then, signaled a new use of the prostitute metaphor by Luther and his followers. This trend continued in a 1519 lecture, wherein Luther spoke about the paralytic man in Matt. 9 to whom Jesus says, "Take heart, your sins are forgiven." Luther interpreted Christ's words to mean that "It does not matter the type of sin: tax collector, robber, whore. Be of good heart, son, your sins are forgiven."[21] The depth of the prostitutes' sinfulness merely illuminated the power of grace. Grace is available even to whores. Though he would continue to pair them with tax collectors at times, prostitutes in particular would become major signifiers of his developing vision of justification by faith. As Luther moved closer to the *Ninety-Five Theses* and especially the treatises of 1520, he honed his rhetoric in ways that became more and more provocative. The prostitute became both an agent of the devil and the bride of Christ. That these two metaphors seemed to contradict each other served his theological agenda. The question that remained, however, was how long such a tension could be maintained.

19 At all nine points in Rom. 4 where the Vulgate translates *logízomai* (in its variants—4.3, 4.5, 4.6, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.22, 4.23, and 4.24) as *reputatio* (in its variants), Erasmus translated it as *imputatio*. Desiderius Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum Omne* (Basel: 1516). For a more detailed discussion of Lefèvre's and Erasmus's influence on Luther during this time period, please see David M. Whitford, "Erasmus Openeth the Way before Luther Revisiting Humanism's Influence on the Ninety-Five Theses and the Early Luther," *Church History and Religious Culture* 96, no. 4 (2016): 516–40.

20 Disputation for Bartholomew Bernhardi, 26 July 1516, WA 1, 145–51.

21 WA 5, 477.

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2 The Devil's Whore and the Whore-Bride of Christ

Beyond the posting of the *Ninety-Five Theses* and the "here I stand" phrase, both of which are likely based on some truth that was later much amplified, perhaps the next thing for which Luther is most famous is his statement that reason is the "devil's whore."[22] That oft-repeated quip is historically verifiable and hardly requires amplification to provoke its hearers, then as now. Nonetheless, the phrase has frequently been misunderstood. One popular misconception is that Luther's dictum advocated the complete separation of philosophy from theology. The sentiment behind the quip can be seen in Luther's debates with Johannes Eck and was actually meant to delineate his new theological vision from medieval Scholasticism by positing that philosophy cannot be the starting point for theological discernment; theology must begin with scripture.[23] The sentiment in that context remained largely adjectival and rather amorphous. As Roman Catholic theologians pressed the attack, however, "the devil's whore" became personified as the Bible's Whore of Babylon, whom Luther directly associated with his foes in Rome. In his polemical replies, Luther's traditionalist foes were cast in whorish terms. The first instance of this rhetoric was, in a way, a natural extension of the idea that philosophy is the devil's whore. In his response to the faculties of Cologne and Louvain, Luther attacked the professors of theology as "masters of harlotry" rather than masters of theology.[24]

A few weeks after penning the response to those faculties, he turned his rhetorical artillery on the papacy itself. In *On the Papacy at Rome*, he connected what he considered to be the Catholics' faulty and corrupt theology to their fallen and whorish morality. He called them "whores and knaves of Rome." He said that they sought not moral men to serve the church but "stable boys and ass-drivers."[25] In *On the Babylonian Captivity*, he used whores and whorish

22 The exact phrase, "des teuffels hure," can be found in Luther's treatise written against Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt in 1525 (WA 18, 164). For a translation of *Hure* as prostitute, see Martin Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, LW 40, 175.

23 For both works, the one Luther wrote before the debate with Eck and his self-defense afterward, see WA 2, 153–61, 180–240, 250–383. For a discussion of the significance of the Leipzig Debate for Luther's developing theology, see Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development* (Minneapolis, MN: 1999).

24 *Condemnatio Doctrinalis Librorum Martini Luther … Responsio Lutheriana ad eandem damnationem* (1520), WA 6, 170–96, esp. 186.

25 WA 6, 322; LW 39, 102. He repeats this set-phrase almost exactly a few months later in *On the Freedom of a Christian*. In the sermon, he notes that he should not be saying such naughty things. There is, then, a sexual innuendo in this phrase that is lost on modern readers. In conversations with multiple native speakers of German, they all agree it is something inappropriate, but *what* is implied is unclear.

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language to highlight the sexualized debauchery he believed epitomized the eternal city, the church, and its leader. He noted that a man could defile "six hundred whores" and it would not preclude him from the papacy; indeed, "if one has defiled six hundred whores, or violated countless matrons and virgins, or even kept many Ganymedes, that would be no impediment to his becoming bishop or cardinal or pope."[26] As this quote makes clear, Luther enjoyed hyperbole and was not above innuendo. Perhaps Luther's most famous piece of hyperbole comes from a personal letter to Melanchthon that was not published until after his death, but is from this same time period. It has come to be called the famous "sin boldly" letter. In the letter, Luther notes that God does not save "fictitious sinners." He admonishes Melanchthon not to be a fictitious sinner, and to sin boldly. He ends on a high note of hyperbole: "No sin will separate us from the Lamb, even though we commit fornication and murder a thousand times a day."[27]

The reference to "Ganymedes" would have been clear to his learned friends but fallen flat for those unfamiliar with the Greek myth of a beautiful adolescent boy kidnapped by Zeus and subsequently employed as a cup-bearer and for sexual pleasure. Luther continued to use the term Ganymedes as a way to slander Rome, most especially in the late 1530s.[28] For example, in 1537 he spoke of the papacy and the provision of sixty concubines and twenty Ganymedes and catamites.[29] His use of Latin to shroud his most biting critiques and allusions to sodomy was also common. In 1538, in a series of table talks about Rome, he spoke about the 1515 Lateran Council, saying that Leo X had provided each cardinal in attendance with "*5 pusiones et Ganimedes*."[30] In his response to Leo X's threat of excommunication in *Exurge Domini*, Luther claimed that Rome had become a "whore and the true kingdom of the Antichrist."[31] He was still using whorish language adjectively, but the target was no longer generic. It was, on the contrary, quite specific and trained on Rome alone. The fiercer the fight with Rome and its hierarchy became, the more provocative Luther grew in defending his position.

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26 WA 6, 565; LW 36, 114 (translation altered).

27 Letter from Luther to Melanchthon, 1 Aug 1521, WA BR 2, 372, no. 424; LW 48, 281–82.

28 For more on Luther's use of sexualized slander, specifically sodomy, against Rome, see Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (Chicago: 2003), chaps. 6 and 7. Helmut Puff has demonstrated the degree to which Luther and others used sodomy to demarcate the lines between Protestants and (especially Italian) Roman Catholics.

29 WA TR 3, 452, no. 3609.

30 WA TR 4, 290, no. 4390. A year later, he used the reference to Ganymedes again in his diatribe against the papacy, *Wider das Bapstum zu Rom von Teuffel gestifft* (1539), WA 54, 222.

31 *Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X*. (1520), WA 7, 148.

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Nowhere was this penchant for provocation more evident than in his use of the Bride of Canticles to defend justification by faith alone. In Luther's interpretation, the Old Testament context fell away. As we noted earlier, the Bride of Canticles began as a pure and righteous soul; she truly loved her bridegroom and wished nothing more than to be faithful to him. The powers of sin and corruption could not be escaped, however, and she fell into carnality and adultery. For Bernard and the younger Luther, the constancy of the bridegroom in the face of the bride's betrayal functioned as an analogy for the love and constancy of God. By 1520, however, Luther was recasting the bride. Christ was still the bridegroom and the Christian still the bride, yet the latter was no longer pure and chaste even at the outset. She was, rather, a "wicked little whore" (a *boeßes hürlein* or *impia meretricula*):

> By the wedding ring of faith [Christ] shares in the sins, death, and pains of hell which are his bride's. As a matter of fact, he makes them his own and acts as if they were his own and as if he himself had sinned; he suffered, died, and descended into hell that he might overcome them all. Now since it was such a one who did all this, and death and hell could not swallow him up, these were necessarily swallowed up by him in a mighty duel; for his righteousness is greater than the sins of all people, his life stronger than death, his salvation more invincible than hell. Thus the believing soul by means of the pledge of its faith is free in Christ, its bridegroom, free from all sins, secure against death and hell, and is endowed with the eternal righteousness, life, and salvation of Christ its bridegroom … Who then can fully appreciate what this royal marriage means? Who can understand the riches of the glory of this grace? Here this rich and divine bridegroom Christ marries this poor, wicked little whore, redeems her from all her evil, and adorns her with all his goodness. Her sins cannot now destroy her, since they are laid upon Christ and swallowed up by him.[32]

As seen here in *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520), Luther no longer writes about Christ saving figurative tax collectors and prostitutes over the assumed righteousness of Pharisees and Sadducees. He claims instead that all Christians are "little whores." This was entirely in keeping with the new theology of imputed righteousness first seen in the Bernhardi Disputation. In this view, the Christian brings nothing to the judgement seat of God but the righteousness of Christ. Into this mystical marriage, humans bear only sin and corruption,

32 *Freedom of a Christian*, LW 31, 352 (Translation altered); WA 7, 26 (Ger), 55 (Lat).

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while Christ brings purity and righteousness. The gifts of the one become the burden of the other. One senses that Luther intended to shock his listeners and readers so much that it forced them to consider the implications of his new theological vision.

As he notes in a sermon in 1522, "I fear we are all whores." He then asks the question that he assumed had to be on everyone's mind: "If we are so sinful, how shall we be bound to Christ the Bridegroom?"[33] He quickly responds that when Christ the Bridegroom weds the whore-bride, their bodies become one body—they share all and everything. Christ gives his purity and righteousness to the whore-bride, washing the bride clean. At the same time, the bridegroom takes his beloved's sins into himself. Luther's motif echoes Paul, "God made him who had no sin to be sin for us, so that we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. 5:21), yet in a far more shocking manner. In *Freedom of a Christian*, he notes that this was a "joyful exchange and struggle."[34] There he does not completely flesh out the nature of the struggle, spending most of his time discussing the exchange of sin and grace. In the 1522 sermon, however, he expounds further by appealing to one of the most shocking interludes in all of scripture, Ezek. 16. In that chapter, Jerusalem has succumbed to sin and apostasy. The city is equated with a bride who falls into adultery and prostitution. God, her husband, rises up in righteous anger. He threatens to drag her before her lovers, expose her, and even have her stoned, yet at the last moment declares instead that he shall remain faithful. In his exposition of these poignant verses, Luther tarries over the bride's sins and the anguish it caused her husband.[35] The so-called joyful exchange between these lovers came at a terrible price for the bridegroom.

Luther continued to use the image of the whore-bride throughout the early 1520s. In 1523, he preached a number of sermons in which the figure played a significant role. In the early spring, for example, just before Lent, he preached on the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. The focus of the biblical rite was purity, and Luther used the opportunity to ask his audience how Christians were made pure. He answered by declaring that the prostitute is availed of the gifts of Christ. This was proof, for Luther, that righteousness could never come via works, but only grace.[36] Later, Luther was even more specific, declaring that the Christian comes to Christ only as a poor whore, broken by sin, dying. The Christian stands before Christ and prays, "Lord, if you wish to make

33 WA 10/3, 416–17.

34 "Hie hebt sich nu der froelich wechßel und streytt." WA 7, 26.

35 WA 10/3, 418.

36 WA 11, 12–13.

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from this whore, a bride, there is nothing. If you wish to be my spouse, you must make me clean."[37] The bridegroom, it was claimed, "takes as his own, as it were, all their sins upon himself. This proves that works are of no effect." In effect, the bridegroom assured the sinner, "I will do the works, I will remove your sins, I will share with you my purity."[38] One can see why the metaphor appealed to Luther on both a rhetorical and theological level. It was so shocking that it would rouse even the sleepiest head in his congregation to sit up and take notice.

People would have noticed, and their attention surely would have gratified Luther, who was always a fairly provocative man and enjoyed theatrical moments. More importantly, it also served his theological agenda. There were fewer more shocking things to say from a pulpit than that Christ wed a whore. Still, Luther invariably went on to unpack the metaphor, explaining both the sinner's condition and the grace that Christ offered. The magnitude of the bride's sin drove home the lavishness of the bridegroom's grace. The shocking metaphor worked as a fitting illustration of Luther's soteriology. The question remains, however, why the motif disappears from his repertoire almost as quickly as it appeared. The last example of the whore-bride I have been able to find comes from the fall of 1523, then the figure vanishes. Why?

3 From Whore-Bride to Nun Brides

The first hint of an explanation comes from another sermon later in 1523. It is a reflection on the patriarch Jacob's vow in Gen. 28. Luther seized on the scripture as yet another opportunity to attack the vows of monks and nuns, a topic he had addressed as early as 1521.[39] He once again took up the metaphor of whores, yet with a crucial difference. Rather than human sinfulness in general, Luther declared that monastic vows in particular were the pollutant that rendered one a whore before God. Wedding Christ, he insisted, was not a physical thing but a spiritual union alone.[40] Luther's sudden preoccupation

37 WA 11, 197.

38 WA 11, 197.

39 For an excellent discussion of clerical marriage and critiques of clerical celibacy, see Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, "'Nothing More than Common Whores and Knaves': Married Nuns and Monks in the Early German Reformation," in *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. David Luebke and Mary Lindemann (New York: 2014), 45–62.

40 "Sermon on Jacob's Vow," (1523), WA 14, 395. For more about the nuns and the cloister, see Anne-Katrin Köhler, *Geschichte des Klosters Nimbschen: Von der Gründung 1243 bis zu seinem Ende 1536/1542* (Leipzig: 2003).

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with monastic vows in late 1523 stems, I believe, from the escape of twelve nuns from the Marienthron Cloister in Nimbschen near Grimma.[41] The women escaped the cloister with the aid of Leonard Koppe, with Luther helping to mastermind the plot. The women soon arrived in Wittenberg and were housed with some of the city's leading families.[42] Many would not have been welcomed back into their parents' homes. Luther, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Nicholas von Amsdorf set to work finding these converts suitable husbands. These women also precipitated the abandonment of the whore-bride motif.

Luther was now put into a wholly new role. Indeed, in 1523, he was still living communally in Wittenberg's Black Friary. He still wore a tonsure and a cowl. For all intents and purposes, he was living and functioning as a monk in an almost exclusively male environment two full years after being excommunicated. Now, however, he found himself responsible for the safety and well-being (not to mention marriage prospects) of a sizeable group of women. The weight of this burden was expressed in letters from the period; indeed, in one case he wrote a suitor who had left Wittenberg to remind the young man that the former nun still held him in high affection. He warned the young man that if he did not return to take her hand in marriage, someone else very well might.[43] The irony, of course, is that he wrote on behalf of his future wife Katharina von Bora. It is unlikely that Luther thought of himself at that point as von Bora's alternate suitor; rather, the letter to Hieronymus Baumgartner tells of a man very much concerned with the well-being of the young women taken into his care. He took his job as matchmaker seriously. One wonders if he now took the institution of marriage more seriously as well.

In his 1524 revision of the marriage rite for the city of Wittenberg, Bugenhagen declared in the opening sentence that "Marriage is an entirely different thing from that which the world mocks and scorns."[44] He goes on to remind the people that according to Scripture, marriage was established by God, is a work of God, and is maintained by God. Against this backdrop, the aim and effect of Luther's motif of the whore-bride earlier in the decade becomes clear. If it did not exactly mock marriage, its power certainly depended on scandal.

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41 For much of 1522 and 1523, Luther did not write on vows much at all, little more than a passing reference here or there.

42 Luther wrote a short pamphlet defending their escape, see Martin Luther, *Ursache und Antwort, daß Jungfrauen Klöster göttlich verlassen mögen* (1523), WA 11, 387–400.

43 Luther to Hieronymus Baumgartner, 12 October 1524, WA BR 3, 357, no. 782.

44 Johannes Bugenhagen, *Wie man die so zu der Ehe greyffent eynleytet zu Wittemberg* (Magdeburg: 1525), A2r. See Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (Cambridge, UK: 1995), 25–38. Harrington begins his book on marriage by noting the degree to which marriage, as an estate, was ridiculed during the late medieval era.

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The entire metaphor was calculated to shock the sensibilities of the hearers by turning community mores on their head. Once Luther became responsible for actual brides in 1523, however, he seemed less willing to upend the social mores of marriage. There is little else in his life to explain the sudden cessation of the whore-bride metaphor. He had already examined both marriage and monastic life in some detail by that time, writing treatises on both.[45]

He continued, however, to use the whore-bride metaphor. He had been preaching at St. Mary's, the city church, for nearly a decade, and the metaphor continued, suggesting that its subsequent disappearance cannot be explained by Luther's interaction with married people on a regular basis because he developed it in the midst of such interactions. Indeed, its efficacy hinged on shocking those very parishioners. Nonetheless, a single, tonsured, cowled monastic using marriage as a theological prop is one thing; a leader entrusted with pairing real flesh-and-blood brides with husbands (a task normally reserved for a father or parent) is quite another. Luther's relationship to the escaped nuns was the only significant change in his life in 1523 that could explain his sudden leeriness to invoke the whore-bride metaphor. He did continue to use whores as theological props, however. His later use of whorish rhetoric lends further support to the thesis that it was contact with actual brides—and in 1525, his own bride—that changed his theological vocabulary.

4 Brides versus Whores

When Luther discussed brides prior to 1519, he almost always spoke either of the Bride of Canticles or the Bride of Christ, often both together. After that year, he combined the two metaphors to illustrate his theology of justification, thus giving rise to the whore-bride. Following his abandonment of the motif in 1523, Luther began to reimagine whores and brides as separate and increasingly hostile entities. No longer did he narrate a transition from chaste bride to whorish wife to exemplify the steadfast love of God, as he had in the 1510s. No longer did he embrace the paradoxical co-existence of whore and bride together to proclaim justification by faith alone.[46] Now the two figures were

45 See "Sermon on the Estate of Marriage (1519)," LW 44, 3–14 (WA 10, 630–3); *On the Estate of Marriage* (1522), LW 45, 11–49 (WA 10, 598–629); *The Judgment of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows* (1521), LW 44, 243–400 (WA 8, 577–669).

46 See Whitford, "Moste Folyshe Fable," 449. See also WA 29, 277. Luther did continue to use whores generally and Mary Magdalene specifically as examples of justification by faith alone. Here he returns to a more medieval use of the prostitute trope, now transformed from the ideal penitent to the embodiment of justification by faith alone. Mary Magdalene's sin demonstrated the depth of Christ's mercy.

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oppositional. There was no paradox, no overturning of mores. There was no *simul iustus, simul peccator*. One was now either just or a sinner, bride or whore. "The bridegroom says, 'you shall have me and no other,' the bride likewise. This cannot be completely comprehended, though. As Paul says, our marriages are but a shadow of the marriage to Christ … When Christ says, 'I will have thee,' the bride also gives something of herself. She becomes more ambitious in love, if she is a real bride. The whore does otherwise."[47] The whore does otherwise, Luther explained in another sermon a few months later, because she does not have a husband as a "head" to guide her. Likewise, spiritual whores do not have Christ as their head.[48]

This shift from a transitional or paradoxical stance to an oppositional one was permanent. He continued to press the theme of bride versus whore long after all the nuns from Nimbschen were married and long after his own wedding. At times he would sharpen the metaphor to lambaste Rome and its whorish prelates. In a 1531 sermon on church unity he took up the fight, noting, "where there is discord, there is neither Spirit nor church, she has become a whore."[49] He also used the metaphor to highlight the differences between true and false Christians: "Christ is her Lord. This is the church, but when she weds the devil, she becomes a whore."[50] Likewise, "When Christ is the bridegroom, the Father gives the bride and adorns her with the Holy Spirit. She shall not whore. Hers is the Word of God, she is the spouse. She is the wife."[51] In a rather poignant sermon later in 1539, Luther imagines the Christian life as a happy marriage: "Christ is the bridegroom, the Christian church is a *Jungfrau* brought by the father to wed Christ the Son. The Holy Spirit leads her to the bridal chamber and adorns her with gifts." He then repeats the same phrase from the earlier sermon, "She shall not whore. Hers is the Word of God, she is the spouse. She is the wife."[52]

Stepping back, a pattern emerges. The true church/true Christian has Christ the bridegroom, the Word of God, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The false church/false Christian has the devil as a bridegroom, and is (often) a (papal) whore. The two are opposites. More work needs to be done on Luther's use

47 "Sermon on Matthew 22 (1526)," WA 20, 523.

48 "Sermon on the Circumcision of the Lord (1527)," WA 16, 632.

49 "Sermon on 1 Peter 3:8 (1531)," WA 34/1, 579. The theme continues throughout the 1530s and into the 1540s. In 1537, he contrasts the true Christian church versus the "*ecclesiam a papistica meretrice*." "Sermon on Titus 3 (1537)," WA 45, 165. In a lecture on Genesis 4 (late 1530s), on the differences between the church of Cain and the church of Abel, Luther notes that one is the true church, the other is a false (i.e., papal) whore church. See WA 42, 189.

50 "Sermon for the Wedding of Caspar Cruciger (1535)," WA 41, 560.

51 "Sermon for Trinity Sunday (1539)," WA 47, 779.

52 Ibid.

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of the bride image, yet for our purposes it is enough to note how deep the contrast was drawn by the late 1520s. Something happened to Luther's theological imagination in 1523–24. He could no longer sustain the hyperbole of a whore-bride. Confronted by actual women, confronted by his own new role as a bridegroom standing before his own bride, the hyperbolic metaphor fell flat. It disappeared. I have found only one small echo of it after the fall of 1523. In a 1544 sermon on 1 Cor. 10, in which Paul admonishes the Corinthians to put away lust and idolatry, Luther makes the statement that Christ demands our obedience, but that such obedience does not merit justification. Justification is by "grace alone." He then likens this to a bridegroom's love for his bride—it is not her fidelity that makes him love her, it is his pleasure to love her, "even if she had been a whore before." He continues by saying that now that the bridegroom has honored her, she must now remain pure or the bridegroom will put her away. This is not the same as the whore-bride of Christ, but does touch on some of the same themes. It is the only reference I have found that even closely approximates the whore-bride of Christ.[53]

The work of Karant-Nunn reminds us that all of Luther's theology was mediated through the man, a man, she notes, of deep passions. He was fiery and jovial. He could rage incandescently, and sob uncontrollably. He could joke and tease his wife, and write to her tenderly. He loved his family deeply. It is impossible that these deep feelings did not play themselves out in his theological imagination.[54] In the case of the whore-bride of Christ, Luther the man, Luther the match-maker, Luther the bridegroom, overruled Luther the provocateur, Luther the theologian. The hyperbole could not stand before actual brides.

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53 See "Sermon for the Ninth Sunday after Trinity (1544)," WA 22, 157.

54 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Personal Luther: Essays on the Reformer from a Cultural Historical Perspective* (Leiden: 2018). The entire book is a tour-de-force and these themes can be seen throughout the entire work, but for her discussion specifically of humor and teasing in Luther's marriage, see chapter 6, "The Masculinity of Martin Luther: Theory, Practicality, and Humour." For the love he felt for his family, see especially chapter 7, "The Tenderness of Daughters, the Waywardness of Son: Martin Luther as Father."

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CHAPTER 2

Luther and Gender

Lyndal Roper

When it ended the elevation of celibacy and introduced married clergy, the Reformation changed gender relations. It was a momentous transformation. Just how difficult it was to represent those altered realities is nowhere more evident than in the cover design of the Lutheran classic, the *Table Talk* (*Tischreden* or *Colloquia*). Composed of the notes of Luther's dinner conversations made by his students and organized according to topic, it became a huge publishing success when it was printed twenty years after the reformer's death. The original, "authorized" editions had no cover illustration apart from a small portrait of the reformer and a pair of coats of arms. It was a pirate edition from the noted publishing house of Peter Schmid in Frankfurt, which first designed a title page picturing the dinner table and Luther's guests (Fig. 2.1).[1] This image then took on a life of its own, going through various incarnations right up until the eighteenth century. As a representation of the famous household, however, it omits someone important. We see Luther's table with his dinner guests and his children, but where is Luther's wife?

The erasure of Katharina von Bora is not the only disconcerting feature of the scene. Luther sits at the table surrounded by the heroes of the Wittenberg Reformation. Four children stand in front of the table in ascending height, adding to the impression of domestic order and hierarchy. Above and to the right of the Reformer the Bible lies open amongst a row of books on a shelf, indicating Luther's importance as theologian and translator of the Bible. And yet there is something distinctly off-putting about this image, for, with the table placed directly in front of the viewer and Luther at the center, the viewer cannot help recalling images of the Last Supper.

1 The first edition was published in Eisleben in 1566 [VD16 L 6748]. For the edition published by Peter Schmid in Frankfurt, see *Colloqvia Oder Tischreden Doctor Martini Lutheri* (Frankfurt: 1567) [VD16 L 6751; VD16 ZV 22662]; the 1568 edition [VD16 L 6753]. The publisher Simon Hueter printed another edition of Martin Lechler's edition of *Table Talk* in 1568 [VD16 6752]. When Peter Schmid went into partnership with Sigmund Feyerabend, he issued a new edition of this work in 1569 [VD16 L 6756]. The edition with the improved woodcut, published first by Peter Schmid and then in conjunction with the leading Frankfurt publisher Sigmund Feyerabend, was reprinted in Frankfurt in 1569, 1571, 1573, 1574, 1576, 1593. It remained iconic: there is even an edition of the *Tischreden* from 1700 which has an illustration frontispiece obviously based on the same image, updated to suit the times; instead of the shelf of books, Luther has an impressive library, as befits a pastor.

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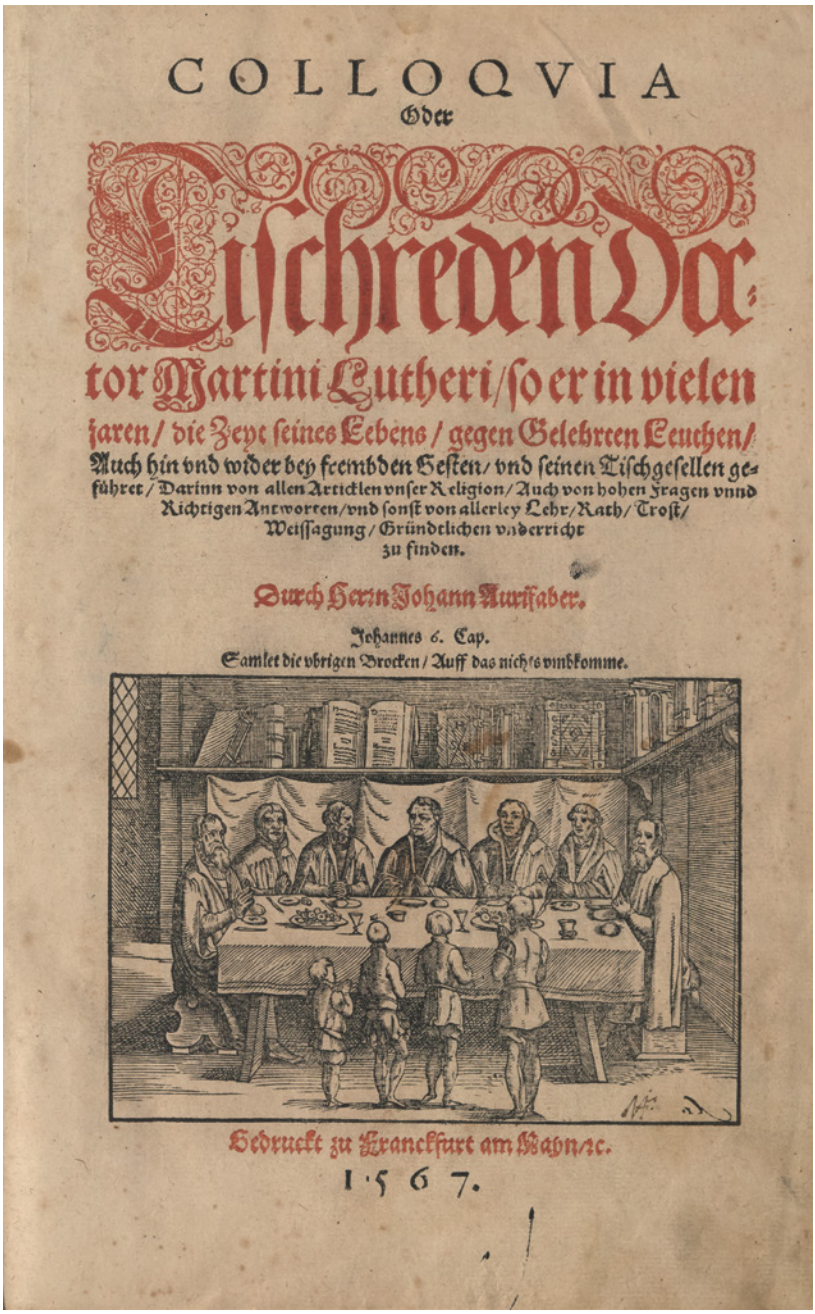
COLLOQVIA
Oder
Tischreden Doc-
tor Martini Lutheri/so er in vielen
jaren/die Zeyt seines Lebens/gegen Gelehrten Leuthen/
Auch hin vnd wider bey frembden Gesten/vnd seinen Tischgesellen ge-
führet/Darinn von allen Artickeln vnser Religion/Auch von hohen Fragen vnnd
Richtigen Antworten/vnd sonst von allerley Lehr/Rath/Trost/
Weissagung/Gründlichen vnderricht
zu finden.
Durch Herrn Johann Aurifaber.
Johannes 6. Cap.
Samlet die vbrigen Brocken/Auff das nichts vmbkomme.
Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn/&c.
1567.

FIGURE 2.1 Title page woodcut from Martin Luther, *Colloqvia Oder Tischreden Doctor Martini Lutheri* (Frankfurt: Peter Schmidt, 1567), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen Anhalt in Halle (Saale), Ib 3577, 4°

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Perhaps recognizing this, the Frankfurt edition of 1568 rotated the illustration ninety degrees and placed it in an oval, removing the disturbing visual reference (Fig 2.2). The table, the room, and the shelf remain recognizably those of the woodcut of 1567, and the artist is the same. Luther has been moved from the center to the head of the table and, should there be any doubt about the identity of his team, the name of each reformer is supplied in the oval border. Two windows symbolize the world outside, one showing not a church but a civic building, the other, nature. On the right cluster Luther's six children, living as well as dead, girls as well as boys (in the original version, there are four children, the number who survived). The gender of the children is largely indeterminate, but in the very corner of the image a female shape can just be discerned, almost squeezed out of the picture frame altogether; she might be Katharina von Bora or Magdalena, the daughter who died.[2]

This frontispiece of the *Table Talk* became an iconic image, copied and recopied right through the eighteenth century and beyond.[3] Later versions omit the children, and Katharina, even if she was there to begin with, is the first to disappear out of the frame. This image would soon spread outside the confines of Lutheranism and beyond even the boundaries of Germany as new reformers were added: Martin Bucer, Jean Calvin, John Wyclif, and Thomas Cranmer, and versions in other languages developed (Fig. 2.3). It now represented the broad church of Protestantism locked in struggle with the Devil and the Papists. Midget-sized in comparison to the heroes of the Word, the Catholics hiss and spit impotently from the other side of the table, while the reformers cluster around the candle which, as the title reads, cannot be blown out. Now any vestige of the relationship with a real "house" has been lost, and with it the awkward linkage of the public Reformation and the domestic context; indeed, the table no longer has any connection to food and is little more than a device to bring the male theologians together.[4]

2 So far as I can see, if she IS Katharina then we are one child short.

3 See, on this image, Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: 2004), 396. Koerner does not, however, discuss the later version of the image, which was the more enduring. The image of Luther at table seems to be restricted in the sixteenth century to these two versions, both title pages for the *Tischreden*. There are several eighteenth-century versions, two title pages for the *Tischreden* by Daucher from 1700 and 1734, and one eighteenth-century etching showing Christ, Luther, and the Apostles (*Lutherus redivivus*). I am grateful to Jutta Strehle for this information. A related iconography shows Luther surrounded by his friends. See, for example, the Weimar altar by Cranach the Elder, Stadtkirche St. Peter und Paul (CDA ID/Inventarnummer DE_PPW_NONE-PPW001A), or the Meienburg Epitaph for the Mayor of Nordhausen Michael Meienburg by Cranach the Younger.

4 See "Luther in the Circle of Reformers, 1625–1660," Deutsches Historisches Museum, GM 97/24. For English versions, see "The Candle is lighted, we can not blow out," London, ca.

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COLLOQVIA
Oder
Tischreden Do-
ctor Martini Lutheri / so er in vilen
Jaren / die Zeyt seines Lebens / gegen Gelehrten Leuthen /
Auch frömbden Gesten vnd seinen Tischgesellen geführet. Darin von allen Artickeln vnser Religion /
Auch von hohen stücken / Fragen vnd Antwort / Item viel mercklichen Historijs / vnd sonst
von allerley Lehre / Trost / Rath / Weissagung / Warnung vnd verma-
nung / Bericht vnd vnterricht zu finden.
Anfencklichs von M. Anthonio Lauterbach zůsamen getragen / Hernacher in gewisse
Locos Communes verfa, set / vñ auß viel anderer Gelehrter Leut Collectaneis gemehret
Durch Johannem Aurifabern.
Weiter ist auch hinzů kommen ein Newwer Anhang etlicher Tischreden / So der Theure Mann Gottes / D.
Martin Luther gegen Gelarten Theologis vnd Pfarherrn / kurtz vor seinem End vnd seligen Abscheid auß
dieser Welt / geführet hat / sampt vielen Trostschrifften / Sendbriefen / Auch Historien / Antworten auff vielfaltige
fragen / Bericht von den fürnembsten Heubtstücken Christlicher Religion / an gůthertzige Christē zum mehrer
theil geschrieben / vnd auch Mündtlichen geredt. Jetzunder auffs Newe auß vielen geschriebenen Büchern zů-
sammen getragen / vnd allen Pfarherrn / Studiosis / zů dienst vnd wolgefallen;
Durch einen liebhaber der Theologia an Tag geben.
D. Martin. Luther. Philip. Melanchton. D. Caspar Creutziger. D. Lucas Jonas. D. Paulus Eberus. M. Vitus Dietrich. D. Joannes Forster. D. Joannes Bugenhagen.
Getruckt zů Franckfurt am Mayn / im Jar M. D. LXVIII.

FIGURE 2.2 Title page woodcut from Martin Luther, *Colloqvia Oder Tischreden Martini Lutheri* (Frankfurt: 1568), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 2 Th.u. 65, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10150118-2

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FIGURE 2.3 *Luther im Kreise der Reformatoren* (*Luther in the Circle of Reformers*), Deutsches Historisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. Gm 97/24
COURTESY OF DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM

If the Reformation succeeded at any long-term transformation, one of the areas in which it did so was gender relations. The archivally-grounded work of Susan Karant-Nunn, Merry Wiesner, and Heide Wunder has enabled us to see just what this meant in the society of early sixteenth-century Germany, and their work inspired a generation of historians, myself included, to think anew about the Reformation and gender. Karant-Nunn has anatomized Luther's

1620–1640 published by Thomas Jenner, The British Museum no. 1907,0326.31. Examples in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG) in London include one published by John Garrett, a line engraving rendered after 1673, NPG D24005, and a version from 1683, NPG D23051 and D43263; another is from 1769, "The Primitive Reformers," NPG D42454; and a Dutch version from the second half of the seventeenth century. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martin_Luther_and_Reformers_RMCC_s10.jpg, accessed 10 June 2020. Hertford College Oxford has a painted version and I am grateful to Mia Smith for showing it to me; there are others at the town hall in Lewes and at the Society of Antiquaries London. The iconography was also used as a design for plates; see Alexandra Walsham, "Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69 (2016): 566–616. The version at the Yale Divinity School had been painted over, obscuring the anti-papal figures and texts which were discovered on cleaning in 2017.

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view of gender and the constraints on women that accompanied it, and she has made us understand Luther's manhood in new ways, transforming what we can now include within the purview of Reformation history.[5] This chapter is my attempt to discuss the issues which these scholars made it possible to address, namely the nature of Luther's masculinist rhetoric, the movement's difficulties in representing their leader's marriage and "household," and what this reveals of the complex effects of the Reformation on gender.

1

The question remains: why couldn't Katharina von Bora, or Käthe as Luther called her, be shown on the cover of the *Table Talk*? Just as she is absent or pushed to the very edge of the picture, she is also in the text of the *Table Talk*. Katharina rarely speaks, but her presence shapes much of the conversation at table. The visitors to the house—especially the Wittenberg theologians—usually seem to come without their spouses to converse with Luther, while the students, all male, were also single, so Luther's relationship with Katharina was therefore central to the scene. Remarkably, Luther lived his married life in exactly the same monastery in which he had been a monk. The building was given to him and his heirs by the Saxon elector. In it, Luther set about creating a huge household, with his "quirites" as he liked to call them, a bigger household than the one in which he had grown up and about the same size as the monastery, which had held about 40 residents at its height. There were Luther's children. There was Katharina von Bora's aunt, Mume Lehna, who had fled the convent with her. There were nieces and nephews of Katharina's. Then, like generations of schoolmasters and professors to come, Luther took in student lodgers, some of noble birth, some from his home town of Mansfeld. This was the large and motley group that formed the audience for Luther's dinner conversations, many later recorded in the *Table Talk*.

The fecundity of their marriage, with a child arriving every other year until 1534 and a miscarriage a few years later, meant that throughout much of this period, Katharina was either pregnant or breastfeeding, and Luther frequently

5 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "The Masculinity of Martin Luther: Theory, Practicality, and Humor," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, eds. Scott Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, MO: 2008), 167–89. See also, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Personal Luther: Essays on the Reformer from a Cultural Historical Perspective* (Leiden: 2017); Merry Wiesner, "Luther and Women: the Death of Two Marys," in *Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy*, eds. James Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper, and Raphael Samuel (London: 1987), 295–308; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 1993).

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remarks on this. His virility was therefore very publicly on display, and it was the more striking given that monks were meant to be celibate. Even the idea of a married university man was still a novelty. One of the first to follow this path was Philipp Melanchthon, with a wife possibly chosen by Luther (it was not a happy marriage).[6] It is not surprising, therefore, that much of the banter at table was about the difference between the sexes. So for example, we read that Luther opined "what goes in through women's ears comes out again through their mouths. For that reason a secret is to be entrusted only to a dead woman"[7] or "There is no dress that suits a woman or maiden so badly as wanting to be clever"[8] or "Doctor Martin Luther laughed at his Käthe, who wanted to be clever, and said, 'God created man with a broad chest, not broad hips, so that in that part of him he can be wise; but that part out of which filth comes is small. In a woman this is reversed. That is why she has much filth and little wisdom.'"[9]

Luther lays down the law about the "natural" difference between men's and women's bodies and reads off their intellectual ability and their "filth" from their physical constitutions. Anyone plundering Luther for misogynist comments is likely to strike gold in the *Table Talk* because this was the environment where the difference between the sexes was most visible. Indeed, the eye-popping classic collection of misogyny, *Not in God's Image*, published in 1973 during the rise of second-wave feminist history, includes several unforgettable remarks from it.[10] We owe a great debt too to Susan Karant-Nunn's and Merry Wiesner's wonderful compilation, *Luther on Women* (2002), which, a generation after, brought additional examples from the *Table Talk* together with passages from a wide variety of other works by Luther, previously inaccessible to those without Latin and German.[11]

Sexist banter of this kind often expresses tensions that cannot otherwise be verbalized. Luther's views of sexual differences were exaggerated and

6 Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (New York: 2016), 203–4, 476.

7 WA TR 4, no. 4434, 311.

8 WA TR 2, no. 1555, 130.

9 WA TR 2, no. 1975, 285.

10 Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines, eds., *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians* (London: 1973), 209. On O'Faolain and Martines, see Julia O'Faolain, *Trespassers* (London: 2013). Their wide-ranging, iconoclastic collection was a political text for a broad feminist audience, and it testifies to the kind of co-operation between a highly respected academic historian of the Renaissance and a major Irish novelist possible at that time, both at the start of their careers. The extracts the couple chose included Luther's remarkable approbation of bigamy in the case of male impotence, as well as a late sermon on marriage.

11 Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner, trans. and eds., *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: 2002).

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conservative, even for his time. When he talked about women as wives and mothers, designed by God physically to stay at home, he was presenting a caricature of femininity in a society which actually gave women considerable economic importance and freedom.[12] Women were involved in just about every trade, and they played active parts in running workshops, undertaking selling and paperwork, or caring for dairies and poultry yards and selling produce at market. Katharina herself dealt with all the money, ran two farms, and provisioned the household and its lodgers. She constructed an environment where Luther could pretend to be uninterested in money and could devote himself unhindered to his scholarly work. "I'm rich," he quipped, "since God gave me a nun and three children, I don't worry about what I owe, because if my Käthe pays it off, another creditor would turn up."[13]

The child-bearing years are the stage of the life cycle in which the difference between the sexes is most apparent, and Luther was also teasing Katharina and his audience about sexual differences in a way that allowed him to display his manhood. Typically, Katharina would venture to tell a story; Luther would pick up on what was usually not a very well-shaped tale and improve it by taking it a step further, demonstrating his superior skill at conversation. Or she would ask a naïve question, acting as the foil for a Luther witticism. "What is dialectics?" she might ask, so that Luther could jest that rhetoric is "good gabbing" while dialectics is when someone understands the matter well.[14] Katharina never had the last word: instead, the *Table Talk* allowed Luther to show time and again who was boss. Luther needled her affectionately and clearly reveled in her competence and sense, but the result was that she was silenced while Luther aired his views on every possible subject (breastfeeding included), reminisced, and joked with his male friends.

12 See for example, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Continuity and Change: Some Effects of the Reformation on the Women of Zwickau," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982): 17–42; Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1986); Heide Wunder, "*Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond": Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: 1992).

13 "Ich bin reich inquit Doctor. Mein Gott hat mir ein nonnen gegeben und drei kindlein dazu. Jch sorg nicht vmb das, das ich schuldig bin; den wen mein Ketha schon das bezalet, so wurd doch ein andere komen." WA TR 2, no. 1457, 104.

14 "Rhetorica ist, wenn einer wol waschen kan; dialectica, wenn einer dasselbig wol verstet." WA TR 5, no. 5987, 417.

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The conversations included in the *Table Talk* first began to be recorded in the 1530s, and in 1530 Luther's father had died and he had become the "oldest of my name," a mature "house father" (*Hausvater*) with his own home and children.[15] But it had taken Luther some time to become a *Hausvater*. He did not at first want to marry, even though he had spent so much time in the Wartburg working out the intellectual justification for monks and nuns to break their vows and take spouses. When he returned to Wittenberg from the Wartburg in 1522, he reverted to the monastery and replaced his knightly rig-out with his original monkish attire. Indeed, the town council made him the gift of a new cassock. One of the last of the original generation of evangelical preachers to take the plunge, Luther married in 1525 when the Peasants' War was being defeated.

His marriage was shocking, because his bride was a runaway nun. Katharina von Bora had escaped from her convent along with several other nuns, and it is clear that Luther connived with their "rescuer" in their escape which took place, as the story has it, in herring barrels. There was more than a little masculine strutting in all this. Just a year or so later, Luther was involved in another escape, this time taking the nuns from the territory of none other than Luther's bête noir, the Catholic Duke George of Albertine Saxony, ruler of the other half of the territory and a staunch opponent. Nuns were a source of devotion and piety for the whole territory, so Luther was thumbing his nose at George by stealing "his" nuns.[16]

Luther's wedding presented a propaganda problem for the Reformation not only because it broke the Catholic taboo on clerical marriage but also because a monk and a nun had broken their vows. Characteristically the Cranach workshop went on the offensive, producing double portraits of the reformer and Katharina von Bora. Modeled on the double portraits of husband and wife that were becoming fashionable in the early decades of the sixteenth century north of the Alps, they were cruder workshop products, not paintings of the caliber of, for example, that of an unknown couple produced by the Cranach

15 On Luther as a father, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "The Tenderness of Daughters, the Waywardness of Sons: Martin Luther as a Father," in *The Personal Luther*, 141–54.

16 See Roper, *Renegade and Prophet*, 273–307. On pastors' wives, see Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham: 2012); Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, "'Nothing More than Common Whores and Knaves': Married Monks and Nuns in the Early German Reformation" in *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. David Luebke and Mary Lindemann (Oxford: 2014), 45–62.

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FIGURE 2.4 Lucas Cranach d. Ä., *Kapselbildnis des Martin Luther*, 1525 (?), Mischtechnik auf Buchenholz, 9.8 cm bemalte Fläche, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. 177, donated by Prof. Johann Rudolf Thurneysen-Faesch
COURTESY OF KUNSTMUSEUM BASEL, PHOTO MARTIN P. BÜHLER

workshop in 1522.[17] The portraits of Martin and Käthe purport to be accurate likenesses that date to an exact year and chronicle the couple's increasing age and Luther's growing bulk.[18] The first version (Fig. 2.4 and 2.5) shows a young and slightly hesitant-looking ex-monk, whose tufts of hair—his tonsure had grown out—suggest an unkempt scholar. He is bareheaded and we see little

17 Cranach the Elder, Double Portrait of Couple, 1522, Washington National Gallery of Art, US_NGA_1959-9-1.

18 See Lyndal Roper, "Made by Cranach," in *Martin Luther's World, Body, and Soul* (Princeton: forthcoming).

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FIGURE 2.5 Lucas Cranach d. Ä., *Kapselbildnis der Katharina von Bora, der Gattin Martin Luthers*, 1525, Mischtechnik auf Buchenholz, 10 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. 177 a, donated by Prof. Johann Rudolf Thurneysen-Faesch
COURTESY OF KUNSTMUSEUM BASEL, PHOTO MARTIN P. BÜHLER

more than his shoulders. Katharina's hair covering in the early portraits is not the wifely wimple one might anticipate, but a fine hairnet in accord with her aristocratic status. Like Karlstadt, Luther's first co-worker and the man with whom he famously fell out, Luther had married up, choosing a noble woman. The hairnet set Katharina apart from a normal burgher woman. Luther's own ruler, Frederick the Wise, had helped to make the hairnet, worn by both sexes and sometimes decorated with pearls, a "must have" fashion item.

The double portraits offer a gender script of an exaggerated kind: Luther's eyes engage the viewer and he dominates the visual space. By 1528 a more authoritative Luther emerges, whose monumental face is that of a mature father.

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There are no objects in the picture, no landscape in the background, no distraction from the faces of Martin and Katharina. Below the sharply etched features of Martin's face, the chin, deep-set eyes and characteristic jowls, his body is shapeless under his flowing black clothes (Fig. 2.6). By contrast, Katharina's waist is impossibly tightly corseted, and her chest in some versions is slightly concave so that she can barely breathe, squashed, like so many of Cranach's women, into the S-shape he found appealing (Fig. 2.7). Her wide cheekbones and parted hair are the only constants in the various images of her; sometimes her features are fine, sometimes coarse and she often wears a wimple. Her catlike face is typical of all the women painted by the Cranach workshop, women who possessed only two or three dresses between them. At least Katharina had her own, even if her bodice appears to be cut from cloth similar to some of Cranach's other courtly women.[19] We know that the workshop possessed cartoons of both Luther and Bora with pin-hole pricks for tracing, which exaggerated the facial features, creating a patterned likeness that could be easily replicated. Yet while Martin is a character, Käthe is a cypher.

The double portrait format accommodated Luther and Bora to the social patterns of the upper civic elite, presenting their married life in exactly the way such couples chose to commemorate themselves. There were important differences, however, as the Luthers did not commission these double portraits; they were produced by the Cranach workshop in a variety of formats. Some were in round frames and tiny, no more than nine centimeters in diameter. They could be stored together in a round container and taken out to be looked at. Intimate objects, they were rather like the Renaissance medals that could be held in the palm of the hand or worn on a hat, and were not designed for long-distance display. Even when the workshop produced larger versions, the portraits hinted at the intimacy of the originals. By contrast, the updated design from 1528 is more poster-like (Fig. 2.8 and Fig. 2.9). Luther's face is now manly and authoritative, with none of the vulnerability of the previous likeness. A curl still pokes out from under the doctor's beret and hair covers his ears. The two portraits are sometimes hinged together and can be closed with a hook, but the later portraits are more commonly larger than the early ones. There were multiple versions, including a woodcut print by Cranach's former student Hans Brosamer, which came complete with printed frames and were large enough to be hung on walls as decoration.[20]

19 The later versions from 1528 and 1529, however, generally adopt a simple white bodice.

20 Gunnar Heydenreich, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Painting Materials, and Workshop Practice* (Amsterdam: 2007), 78–81. The pair originally owned by the Landgraves of Hesse and now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, Inv.-Nr. GK 73, still has the original hinges.

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FIGURE 2.6 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Martin Luther*, 1529, Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, Inv. Nr. SG18
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FIGURE 2.7 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Katharina von Bora*, 1529, Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, Inv. Nr. SG17
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FIGURE 2.8 Hans Brosamer, *Bildnis Katharina von Bora, Frau Martin Luthers*, 1530, Holzschnitt, 340 × 278 mm, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Inv.-Nr. A 6658a
COURTESY OF THE KUPFERSTICH-KABINETT, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN, PHOTO HERBERT BOSWANK

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FIGURE 2.9 Hans Brosamer, *Bildnis Martin Luther*, 1530, 349 × 281 mm, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Inv.-Nr. A 6654
COURTESY OF THE KUPFERSTICH-KABINETT, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN, PHOTO HERBERT BOSWANK

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When the couple chose to commemorate themselves, they selected a slightly different means. Luther had a picture of Katharina on the wall, painted by Cranach.[21] Katharina commissioned the *Katharinen-portal*, with twin sculptures on the underside of the frame of a lovely Renaissance stone doorway which she had added to the monastery in which they lived. Luther's head is on one side, his rose monogram on the other. A monument that stamped their presence on the former monastic institution, it eschewed any hint of Katharina herself. Luther's invented coat of arms, his logo, and his portrait took up both sides. It would have been customary for the woman's coat of arms to be included on a noble shield, celebrating the union of two families, but Katharina overrode a conventional representation of marriage with homage to an individual.[22]

By about 1530, the double portrait form of Luther and Katharina had pretty much run its course.[23] Now it underwent a strange metamorphosis: it became a portrait not of Luther and his wife, but of Luther and Melanchthon (Fig. 2.10 and Fig. 2.11). This form of the double portrait went on to become a lasting monument to the Reformation, conveying the unity of two very different men. It was modeled on the "friendship" portraits of the Renaissance, which were usually separate paintings displayed in different geographical places, the absent friend shown in the house of the other. The Luther-Melanchthon images yoked the two unlikely heroes together, sometimes even in a single picture. These were propagandist images designed to scotch rumors that Luther and Melanchthon stood for incompatible versions of the Reformation. After Luther's death, when the differences between the two men's theologies became increasingly apparent, such portraits became even more necessary

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See Gerhard Ermischer and Andreas Tacke, eds., *Cranach im Exil. Aschaffenburg um 1540* (Regensburg: 2007), 286–87. The circular type resembles the carved double portraits of princes and their wives or concubines that can also be hidden in their round capsules. (Basel version, 1525, 10.2 cm Basel; Morgan 19.5 × 31.5; Berloin 11 c, Stockom 37 × 24; gottord 21 × 15.8; Eisenach 22.6 × 16).

21 WA TR 3, no. 3528, 378–79. It seems to be of Katharina only, because Luther remarks "Ich wil einen man lassen darzu malen" so that it can be sent to the Catholic Council at Mantua to demonstrate the superiority of the married state to celibacy.

22 We do not know whether the Luther household possessed one of the double portraits, but we do know that Luther had a portrait of his daughter Lena, and that he put it in his room at the castle of Coburg, suggesting that he had a particular fondness for this daughter.

23 There is a possible late double portrait from 1537 now in Muskegon, Michigan US_MMA_39-5. On this problematic image, see Thomas Kaufmann, "Lukas Cranachs frühreformatorische Druckgraphik: Beobachtungen, Anfragen, Thesen und Korrekturen," in *Konstellationen* 2, ed. Reinhard Laube (Weimar: forthcoming); Lyndal Roper, *Living I was Your Plague: Luther and German Identity* (Princeton: forthcoming).

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FIGURE 2.10 Lucas Cranach, the Elder, *Portrait of Martin Luther*, 1540, Lutherhaus Wittenberg, Inv. Nr. DE_LHW_G70
COURTESY OF STIFTUNG LUTHERSGEDENKSTÄTTEN IN SACHSEN ANHALT

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FIGURE 2.11 Lucas Cranach, the Elder, *Portrait of Philipp Melanchthon*, 1540, Lutherhaus Wittenberg, Inv. Nr. DE_LHW_G71
COURTESY OF STIFTUNG LUTHERSGEDENKSTÄTTEN IN SACHSEN ANHALT

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and were painted not just by the Cranach workshop but by artists beyond Saxony. The images retain a strange echo of the marriage portrait, as if the Reformation could avoid representing Katharina and could replace the sexual Luther with the intellectual. As images of masculinity, the double portrait with Melanchthon offers a strange coupling. Luther's bulky frame dominates the pair, and Melanchthon occupies the space to Luther's left, the distaff side that Katharina had taken. Smaller and wispier than Luther, with his head slightly lower in the pictorial space, Melanchthon does not look directly at the viewer, but his beard marks him out as a house father and his costume echoes that of Luther. Here are two versions of the same model of manhood, but one is definitely more robust, and radiates more authority, than the other.

It is therefore surprising that the double portrait of Martin and Katharina, often taken to be "the most frequently used double portrait of the workshop" and to epitomize the Reformation's theology of marriage, was in fact a short-lived experiment which ran its course after a mere five years. Revealingly, when the artist Georg Pencz copied the Cranach double portrait in 1533, he bothered only with "Martin." So far as we know, the Cranach workshop did not produce images of the married couple in mass-produced woodcuts, and the portraits appear to have been sent as gifts to individuals. The Reformation continued to have difficulty representing Luther's marriage. The wedding was barely mentioned in the key events of the Reformation as they were put together in histories such as that of Ludwig Rabus, and it was not even included in the seventeenth-century single-leaf broadsides that depicted all the key events in Luther's life in narrative pictures.[24]

Johannes Mathesius, however, who wrote the first biography of Luther as a series of sermons, devotes nearly a page to the marriage, explaining how it was an affront to the "judgement of the worldly wise" because it meant the marriage of a "man in orders" (*Ordensmann*) and a "convent woman." But, he continued, at the Last Judgement such pious married folk and their offspring will sit at Christ's right hand, while "the sodomitical and adulterous sort, who roll and dirty themselves in all kinds of secret and public sins, will go to the

24 For a reproduction, see Volkmar Joestel and Jutta Strehle, *Luthers Bild und Lutherbilder: Ein Rundgang durch die Wirkungsgeschichte* (Wittenberg: 2003), 24. These seventeenth-century picture posters show how the key scenes of the reformers' life had become stylized, set in stone; they also include a picture of the reformer at table with the other reformers around him, but with no sign of either Bora or the children. I am grateful to Jutta Strehle of the Lutherhalle Wittenberg for sharing these with me, featured in the 2016–17 exhibition, "Martin Luther: Sein Leben in Bildern," held in the Augusteum Wittenberg. The Catholic send-up of this genre, in an etching of 1730, *did* feature such a scene as one of the reformer's scandalous deeds.

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left side, standing between the old Beelze-goat, amongst randy he-goats and she-goats, and will be seen to go into the hellish fire with all unclean spirits."[25]

Like the Last Judgements that were painted on so many churches near the pulpit, Mathesius enthusiastically creates a verbal equivalent for his listening flock with the papists consigned to Hell, but he does not deliver a paean of praise to the glory and honor of the married estate, nor does Mathesius have anything to tell us about the couple's life. It was not until the late eighteenth century that the pastor's house became a model of familial intimacy and the image of Luther as the *paterfamilias*, strumming the lute and inventing Christmas, is an invention of the nineteenth century. Far from lauding Luther's marriage, Lutherans were distinctly chary of representing it in their art and in their literature about the life of their beloved leader during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even the cover of the *Table Talk* illustrates the difficulty of including Katharina in the household it was depicting; her presence disturbed the intellectual ambitions of the scene. Cranach's much-vaunted double portraits of Luther and Katharina as the ideal couple, taken out of storage in galleries and museums worldwide for the celebrations of 2017, were a genre which lasted little more than five years, replaced by Luther and Melanchthon as the twin Reformation intellects. This double male portrait was the version which would last well into the eighteenth century.

3

We can also trace an evolution in how the Cranach workshop depicted Luther's masculinity. The tousle-haired scholar of the first marriage portrait became a patriarch with doctor's hat, a figure of authority. These changes reflect a shift both in how Luther behaved as a man, and in how the movement presented its founder's manhood. Luther himself would finally achieve a polemical style which depended on an extreme enactment of aggressive masculinity, but this too developed over time. The young Luther had rejected the hypermasculine world of mining where he grew up. Rejecting his father's plans for him and choosing to become a monk, he associated with men such as his Augustinian confessor Johann von Staupitz, whose devotional style stressed

25 "Sodomitische vnd Ehebrecherische Art, die sich in allerley heimlicher vnnd oeffentlicher Suende geweltzt vnnd besudelt, auff der lincken Seiten, zwischen dem alten Beelzebock, vnter vnzuechtigen Boecken vnd Ziegen stehen, vnd mit allen vnsaubern Geistern inns hoellische Feuer wird gehen sehen." Johannes Mathesius, *Historien von dem Leben und den Schicksalen des grossen Reformators Doctor Martin Luther Im Jahre 1565 in 17 Predigten beschrieben* (Leipzig: 1806), 118, 119.

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Christ's sweetness, rather than his masculinity. Staupitz, a gentle, understanding personage, was quite possibly homosexual, and there is a rather acerbic comment by Luther in a letter to Georg Spalatin that suggests this is what he suspected about his confessor: Staupitz should never become a bishop, Luther wrote, because to be a bishop means "to practice Greek ways, to sodomize, and to live in a Roman manner (*id est pergraecari, sodomitari, romanari*)," and goes on to ask Georg Spalatin, "do you want to be guarantor that when the opportunity is there, … or when he is driven to it by necessity, this man will not be sucked into the maelstrom and raging storms of the courts of bishops?"[26] Luther worried about Staupitz's resilience and is using metaphor here, but the kinds of sexualized language he uses suggests deeper fears connected loosely to sexual identity.

At the Leipzig debate in 1519, the event which first brought Luther's ideas to a wide intellectual public and where Luther and Karlstadt defended propositions against the Catholic theologian Johannes Eck, it was Eck who successfully presented himself as the vigorous, strong-bodied debater who liked nothing better than to ride through the woods and to womanize once the debate was over. Luther, by contrast, seemed a timorous academic, and was ridiculed as sniffing a posy during the debate and relying on his army of academic assistants while Eck swung his cudgels alone.[27] Even at the Diet of Worms in 1521, where Luther defended his views against the Emperor and all the estates of the Empire, Luther appeared dressed in his borrowed cassock and with a crudely enlarged tonsure, he did not respond to the charges with aggression but with circumspection, requesting a recess. When he finally responded with his ringing declaration he showed courage, but he did not particularly present this in terms of masculinity, though he might have raised his arm in a Landknecht (mercenary)-style salute.[28] The famous "Here I stand, I can do no other" was probably a later addition. Those present spoke of a somewhat uncertain figure with a weak voice. Disguised as Junker Jörg while in hiding at the Wartburg,

26 "tu ne fide iubebis data occasione, imo pellente … necessitate hominem non involutum iri turbidinibus et tempestatibus istis fragosissimis Curiarum Episcopalium?" WA BR 1, 16, 8 June 1516, 45:25; 41–43.

27 See Walch 15: 1184–87 (account of Amsdorf to Spalatin); 1189–91 (Aurifaber to Spalatin); 1191–94 (Mosellanus to Pirckheimer); 1194–1204 (Mosellanus to Pflug); 1204–1208 (Fröschel); 1208–17 (Pfeiffer); 1217–24 (Melanchthon); 1224–32 (Eck's letters); 1232 (Cellarius); 1239–59 (Rubius). See also Hermann Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop: 1968), 1: 133–80; Markus Hein and Armin Kohnle, eds., *Die Leipziger Disputation 1519: 1. Leipziger Arbeitsgespräch zur Reformation* (Leipzig: 2011); Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: 2000), 19–22.

28 Roper, *Martin Luther*, 472.

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Luther grew out his tonsure and, if Cranach's paintings are to be believed, achieved a luxurious, well-tended, curling, fashionably cornered beard that could stand in comparison with Frederick the Wise's, on which it seems to have been modeled.[29] Despite the coiffure, he struggled to play the knight; he was uncomfortable riding a horse and had no taste for the hunt.[30]

It was not until Luther returned from the Wartburg and held the Invocavit sermons—transcribed by a listener and heavily edited for publication—that he seems to have begun to adopt a fighting stance, insisting that "I was first whom God put on this field of tournament," and breaking forever with his former friend and ally Karlstadt.[31] He began the sermons by warning his congregation that "every individual must struggle for themselves with Death," and went on to describe the Devil's constant attempts to trick Christians.[32] Next, he underlined his authority as the correctly instituted preacher in contrast to Karlstadt: "But I will stick a spear in front of the Devil's nose, so that the whole wide world will be too narrow for him, for I know that I have been called by the Council to preach (even though I resisted it)."[33] He concludes by insisting that "you don't yet know what effort and labor it costs to fight the devil and to overcome him," but "I know him well, and he knows me well, too."[34] Returning to military metaphors, he maintains the importance of confession and insists "we must not allow any of our weapons to be taken away, but keep intact the whole armor and equipment which God has given us to use against our enemies."[35]

29 On beards, see Stefan Hanß, "Face-Work: Making Hair Matter in Sixteenth-Century Central Europe," in *Das Haar als Argument: Zur Wissensgeschichte von Bärten, Frisuren und Perücken*, ed. Martin Mulsow (Gotha: in press), esp. 7–9; Stefan Hanß, "Hair, Emotions and Slavery in the Early Modern Habsburg Mediterranean," *History Workshop Journal* 87 (2019): 167–87.

30 See Pia Cuneo, "Luther's Horses," Chapter 2.

31 "Ich bin auch der erste gewest, den gott auff diesen plan gesetzt hat." WA 10/3, 8, lines 6–8. He had used the word *plan* in his polemics against Emser in 1521, challenging him to step onto the field of intellectual combat. In this work he imagines Emser as a badly armed spiritual knight with spear and dagger but without breastplate, while he, Luther, *is* wearing a breastplate (WA 7, 6).

32 "sonder ein yglicher in eygner person fuer sich mit dem todt kempffen." WA 10/3, 1, lines 8–9; the alternative text makes the military metaphor even more explicit.

33 "Aber ich wil jm wol [11] in dem eyne spieß vor die nasen halten, das jm auch die weldt zů eng sol [12] werden, dann ich weyß jo, das ich von dem radt zů predigen (wiewol ich [13] mich gewert hab) gerůffen bin." WA 10/3, 10, lines 10–13.

34 "Dann jr wist [13] noch nitt was es mühe kostet, mit dem teüffel zů streytten und uberwinden. [14] Ich weyß es aber wol, wenn ich wol ein stück saltzes oder zwey mit jm gessen [15] hab: jch kenne jn wol, er kent mich auch wol." WA 10/3, 64, lines 12–15; 11.

35 "so [10] wir wider den teüffel, tod, helle und sünde streytten müssen, so müssen wir [11] uns kein waffen nemen lassen, sonder harnasch und rüstunge gantz lassen (so [12] uns von got wider unser feinde gegeben) unverrückt bleyben." WA 10/3, 64, lines 9–12.

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Aggression was certainly not new to Luther's polemical style, and he had long been a master of invective, but now he was using his own biography and his own battles with the Devil to undergird his authority, while his rhetoric struck a distinctively male note.

The transformation to lay masculinity, however, would take years to accomplish. Luther had been released from his monastic vows of obedience in 1518, but he did not stop wearing his loose monk's cassock until 1523, over a year after the interval he spent as Junker Jörg. On his return to Wittenberg in Spring 1522 Luther was clearly in no mind to continue the sheath-like sensation of tight hose, cod-piece, and snug doublet of the knight he had adopted as his disguise, nor did he return to such costume once he married, favoring a version of loose academic gown, perhaps with red hose underneath, that was easier on the figure.[36] With his marriage in 1525, the transformation was finally accomplished: Luther now adopted a different style of manhood and a more virile style of writing. He increasingly relished taking on men who were senior to him in status and politically powerful. He gradually came to view the time he had spent in the monastery as a period during which he had been emasculated, when even the name of Jesus had seemed to him a "womanish" name, and when he had placed all his faith not in Jesus, but in Mary.[37]

For their part, Luther's opponents soon picked up on how central the staging of Luther's virile masculinity was to the Reformation. Johannes Cochlaeus, a Catholic opponent obsessed with Luther, was exceptionally well informed, and wrote a scurrilous play about the reformers, focusing mainly on their sex lives.[38] Luther is the super-stud whom the other reformers' wives want to bed, while in contrast, Spalatin's wife mocks her husband's sexual incapacity; the marriage was in fact childless for six years. Katharina is presented as lascivious, a woman who longs for Luther's absence so she can enjoy time with a young student as she had done when the reformers were away at the Diet of Augsburg (1530). She tries her utmost to arouse Luther and exploits her sexual mastery over him to get her way. This too reflects how her pre-eminence amongst

36 See Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: 2011), Chapter 3.

37 "Weil ich ein papist war, hat ich mich beschemet, Christum zu nennen; ich dacht: Jesus ist ein weibischer nam." WA TR 2, no. 1746, 205, lines 43–45. Luther continued to say that Aristotle and Bonaventure were the figures he held in high regard.

38 The play was published under the pseudonym of Johann Vogelsang. See Johann Vogelsang (Cochleaus), *Ein heimlich Gespräch von der Tragedia Johannis Hussen, 1538*, ed. Hugo Holstein (Halle: 1900). On the play, see Philip Haberkern, "'After Me There Will Come Braver Men': Jan Hus and Reformation Polemics in the 1530s," *German History* 27, no. 2 (2009): 177–95.

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women in the household made her a public figure, putting her sexuality and fecundity on display. One of the characters who has not yet met Katharina comments waspishly that she will have no trouble recognizing her for everyone knows what Katharina looks like. Indeed, the early proliferation of the marriage portrait with its unreal tight-laced waist had made her image current in an unprecedented fashion. While the reformers attacked the Catholics as debauched effeminates, the Catholics attacked the Lutherans as hen-pecked sexual incompetents. Here the cover of Johannes Hasenberg's *Lvdvs Ludentem Lvderum ludens* (Play Playing with the Playing Luther) (1530), determined to wring every pun it could out of Luther's original name Luder, shows Luther under Katharina's thumb (Fig. 2.12).[39]

Luther's opponents recognized a key dynamic amongst his followers. Ending celibacy had unleashed sexual competitiveness amongst the clergy. These men had to create new kinds of friendships, and their relationships were no longer contained within a monastic structure. The friendships were in some ways more distant because they were mediated by separate family households and by a range of other people with whom preachers were emotionally involved, but they offered no security against the kind of competitiveness that a unitary model of masculinity could unleash. The centrality of aggressive masculinity in Luther's polemical tone after 1525 was not just a matter of his individual psychology. It had far wider historical significance. When the reformation attacked celibacy, it proposed an alternative uniform model of masculinity for preachers, the ideal of the heterosexual, virile *Hausvater*. No longer was there to be a middle gender for men who were clerics. Instead, all preachers were to exercise their authority in ways that depended heavily on the clichés of secular manhood, a masculinity that aped that of the politically powerful, the rulers.

At the same time Luther and other Reformation propagandists began to represent the Catholic clergy in sexual terms, presenting them as womanizers and sodomites. Luther had taken the first step in his 1522 sermon on marriage, where he classed celibate clergy alongside eunuchs, men who were sexually defective rather than spiritual athletes.[40] Human beings had been created by God as sexual beings, and they should follow their nature, Luther insisted, an argument which completely overturned the usual biblical citations used to defend celibacy.

Luther's anti-asceticism and anti-monasticism found its fullest reflection, of course, in the comments he made over dinner. The dinner table and its pleasures—conversation, food, wine, jokes about sex—was the opposite of

39 Johann Hasenberg, *LVDVS LVDENTEM LVDERVM LVdens* (Leipzig: 1530) [VD16 H 714].
40 LW 45, 17–49; WA 10, II, 275–304.

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FIGURE 2.12 Title page woodcut from Johannes Hasenberg, *Lvdvs Lvdentem Lvderum Lvdens* (Leipzig: 1530), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Polem. 1479, nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10992198-7

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the monkish life of control of diet, flagellation, and silence, and these activities were all the more pleasurable because they were happening in exactly the same place where he had been a monk. Now a settled householder, a bulky man who enjoyed the pleasures of the flesh, Luther could excoriate anything that smacked of sexual polymorphism, and could lacerate the Catholic clergy—and Turks and Italians—as sodomites. He contrasted the true church with the "Roman courtesans and sodomitical rascals," and denounced the papists as "quite godless blasphemers and sodomites."[41] Praising the order of estates, the schoolmaster in his profession, the preacher in his teaching, the schoolboy in his studies, the head of the house in his "economy," he described the false holiness of the papists as "neither a natural, nor properly formed thing, but a hideous, unnatural monster" as if it was their lack of order and shape that was offensive.[42] In his *Against the Roman Papacy, an Institution of the Devil* of (1545), Luther lambastes Pope Paul III as "the holy virgin St. Paula III, Madame Pope" and calls him a hermaphrodite, whose church is the "church of whores and hermaphrodites, the devil's scum," whose cardinals and retinues are "hermaphrodites, *a parte ante viri, a parte post mulieres*."[43] He mocks the Pope as a man-woman but also as an "ass-fart pope," an ass with long ears dancing on the ice, an epicurean sow, a creature who is neither human nor animal.

Luther could not even resist criticizing his own supporters for their lack of manly valor. This reached its nadir during the Imperial Diet of 1530, where Luther mocked Melanchthon for weeping at times of tension, and castigated him for not being a man: "Remain firm," "be a man," "act in a manly way" he wrote. "I wish my cause were such as to permit the flow of tears!"[44] And it poisoned his relations with his closest friends. Thus when he fell out with Johannes Agricola, father of nine children, whose life paralleled Luther's own, and who had been one of his dearest friends, the rift was personal as much as it was theological. Having first encouraged Agricola to leave Eisleben to come and join him in Wittenberg, Luther housed him and his whole family in the monastery with the Luthers. When Luther went away, he left Agricola in

41 On this theme in Lutheran polemic, see Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (Chicago: 2003).

42 "römischen Curtisan und sodomitische Buben." WA TR 4, no. 4119, 146; "gar [14] gottlos, Gottslästerer und Sodomiter … weder ein [22] natürlich, noch formlich zufällig Ding, sondern ein gräulich, unnatürlich Ungeheuer." WA TR 4, no. 4338, 233. See also WA TR 4, no. 5088, 650; WA TR 5, no. 6044, 457.

43 LW 41, 273, 296; WA 54, 214:30; 223:32; 222:21, 282. Here Luther cites Mantuanus, his favorite poet. The idea of hermaphrodites was an old joke, which Luther had used in his publication of *Bulla papae Pauli tertii de indulgentiis contra Turcam*, writing mock glosses on the text of the Bull, WA 50, 113–115 (1537). [VD16: K 386].

44 LW Letters, II, 327–8; WA BR 5, no. 1609 (29 June 1530), 405:3–9.

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charge of his household, wife, children, and *heimlichkeit*, as he put it, a word that is ambiguous between "home-i-ness," "private things," and "secret parts," i.e. female sexual organs.[45] Having created a lecturing post at Wittenberg for Agricola, he then unceremoniously booted him out when he decided that his theology was unorthodox, telling him that his lectures were a nuisance and were annoying everyone. After several failed reconciliations, Agricola took a preaching post in Berlin. When the family visited Wittenberg, Luther pointedly took in Agricola's wife and nine children but refused to let Agricola cross the threshold, commenting in his letters to friends on how badly brought up one of the daughters was: she was more talkative and audacious than a maiden should be.[46] There could hardly have been a clearer demonstration of who was the better "house father."

4

During Luther's lifetime his family was generally not a subject of representation, and the decision to create the double marriage portrait reflected this pattern. There is, however, one interesting exception, the predella of the altar piece in the town church finished shortly after Luther's death, also painted by the Cranach workshop. Katharina appears in the congregation with a child alongside her while her husband preaches. But though this image refers to their family life, it is not a portrait; there is only one child though she gave birth to six, and she is just another member of the congregation. Dwarfed by her huge wifely wimple, her face is featureless. This peculiar narcissistic altarpiece, populated by various Wittenberg reformers with its didactic message about the Lutheran sacraments, would deserve a paper in its own right. For our purposes here, the altarpiece orchestrates the relationship between Luther and his congregation, revealing little of his family or his marriage.

Once he had become a head of household or housefather (*Hausvater*), Luther developed a rhetoric against monks that was viciously homophobic and allergic towards anything that was sexually ambiguous, that was, we might

45 Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben: Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin: 1881), 172–73; WA TR 4, no. 4043, 97 (1538); Ernst Koch, "'Deutschlands Prophet, Seher, und Vater': Johann Agricola und Martin Luther von den Enttäuschungen einer Freundschaft," in *Luther und seine Freunde: "... damit ich nicht allein wäre": Justus Jonas, Lucas Cranach d. Ä., Johann Agricola, Johannes Brenz, Johannes Bugenhagen, Johannes von Staupitz; mit einem Anhang zur Geschichte des Predigerseminars*, eds. Peter Freybe, Inge Mager, and Evangelisches Predigerseminar (Wittenberg: 1998), 51–71, here 63. Agricola later moved to the house of Melanchthon's mother-in-law.

46 WA BR 11, no. 4098 (2 May 1545); no. 4100 (2 May 1545); no. 4101 (2 May 1545).

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say, "queer." I think this captures better the nature of his horror than to define it as homophobic. Luther's unease was more diffuse, focusing especially on hermaphroditism and sexual excess of all kinds: heterosexual, bestial, and homosexual.

Luther proposed a rigidly binary model of sexual difference, and his remarks about women were fantastically unrealistic. They were at loggerheads with the practicalities of women having to work in workshops or on the land and where rigid gender divisions of that degree were a luxury only the elite could afford. His vision of masculinity brooked no ambiguity, and the Reformation did away with the monk and the priest as models of manliness that did not fit the procrustean bed of "house-father manhood" that the Reformation would go on to propagate. Early Protestantism inherited this rigid, exaggerated idea of sexual difference and the compulsory heterosexuality that shaped its clergy. It also inherited the other side of the coin, Luther's sexualized, phobic view of the Catholic clergy and the Papacy.

For all that Luther railed against the asceticism of the monks and created a religion that could accommodate the pleasures of the flesh, it could not yet accommodate women's agency. The missing Katharina on the cover of the *Table Talk* reminds us of that. It could accommodate women as a backdrop to the male scholar, and they could just squeeze into the world of the household, the stage of intellectual endeavor. There, of course, women were meant to be chaste and quiet. But naturally women did not remain silent, not even Katharina von Bora.

I want to conclude with the story of the evangelical noblewoman Argula von Grumbach. In 1520 she took on the University of Ingolstadt when it punished two young students for reading Lutheran tracts. Though she was an unlearned woman, she wrote to the professors of the university in German, castigating them for their unfairness, and then ensured that her letter was printed. It was a runaway success. At least forty editions were printed, many of them illustrated with a picture of her ticking off the fusty professoriate. (Fig. 2.13) Here she is, a noblewoman, yet dressed not with a fashionable hairnet but in a modest wifely wimple.

Grumbach became one of Luther's friends. She also found her way into the history of the Reformation and was commemorated as one of its heroines. When, in the mid-sixteenth century, Ludwig Rabus put together his massive history of the saints before and after Luther, his volumes of current followers of the gospel included at least nine women, Grumbach amongst them, many of them noble.[47] He pointedly omitted, however, Katharina Schütz Zell, widow

47 Ludwig Rabus, *Historien: Der Heyligen Außerwölten Gottes Zeügen/ Bekennern vnd Martyrern*, 8 vols. (Strasbourg: 1552–58). The fourth volume (1556) contains a biography of

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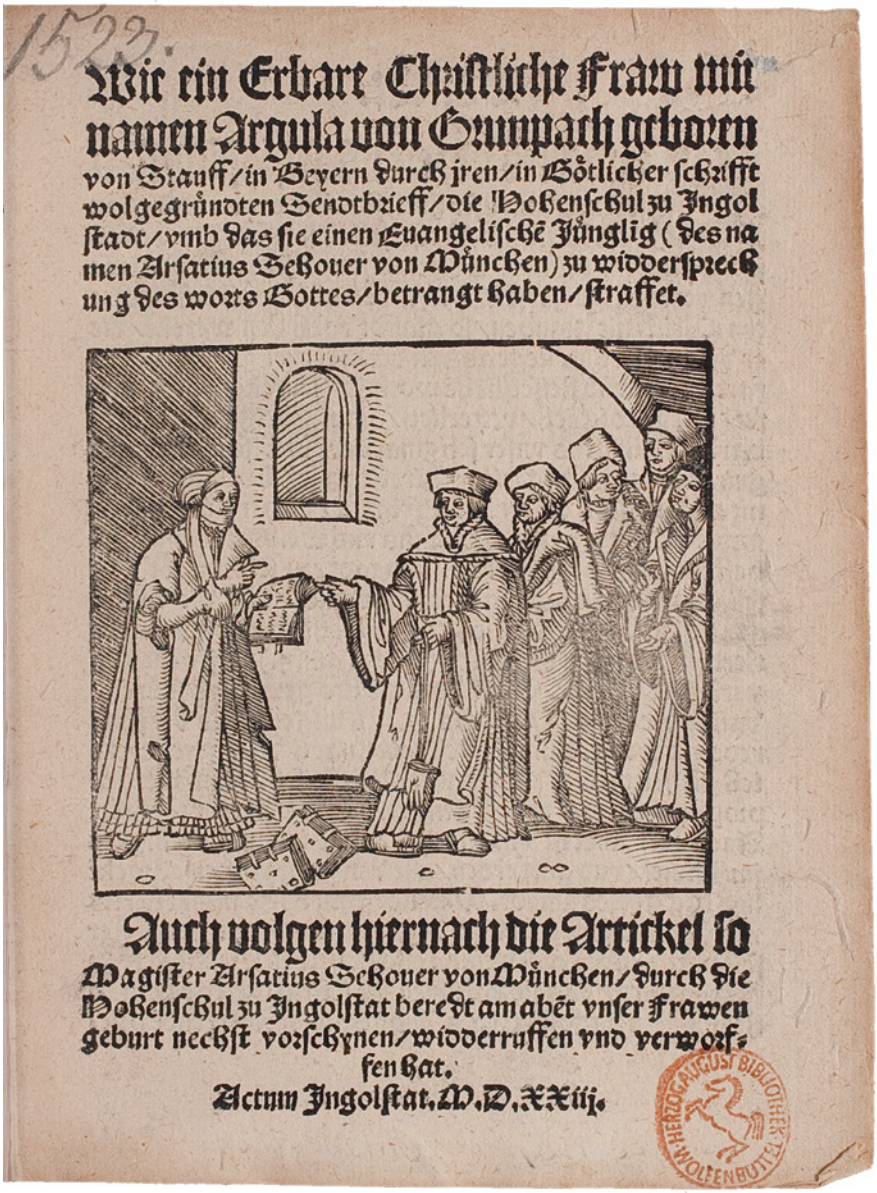
1523.
Wie ein Erbare Christliche Fraw mit
namen Argula von Grumpach geborn
von Stauff/in Beyern Dureh jren/in Göttlicher schrifft
wolgegründten Sendtbrieff/die Hohenschul zu Ingol
stadt/vmb das sie einen Euangelischē Jünglig (des na
men Arsatius Seehouer von München) zu widersprech
ung des worts Gottes/betrangt haben/straffet.
Auch volgen hiernach die Artickel so
Magister Arsatius Seehouer von München/Dureh die
Hohenschul zu Ingolstat bereyt am abēt vnser Frawen
geburt nechst vorschynen/widerruffen vnd verworf-
fen hat.
Actum Ingolstat. M.D.XXiij.
HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK WOLFENBÜTTEL

FIGURE 2.13 Title page woodcut from Argula von Grumbach, *Wie ein Erbare Christliche Fraw mit namen Argula von Grunpach ... in Goetlicher schrifft wolgegrundten Sendtbrieff, die Hohenschul zu Ingolstadt, vmb das sie einen Euangelische*[*n*] *Jüngling ... zu widersprechung des worts Gottes, betrangt haben, straffet* (Leipzig: 1523), Herzog August Bibliothek, Yv 2246.8° Helmst
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of the preacher Mathaeus Zell in Strasbourg. A published author and hymn writer in her own right and an independent theological spirit who championed fair treatment of Anabaptists and spiritualists, she had been angered by his sudden departure from Strasbourg for Ulm and his intolerant condemnation of the and the Schwenckfelders.[48] What made it worse was that Rabus had been Zell's assistant and successor. Schütz Zell published the letters she had written him together with his intemperate replies to her in which he calls hers "heathen, unchristian, stinking, and lying" and apostrophizes her that if she thought his replies too harsh, "consider that one must reply to fools as they deserve" (Fig. 2.14).[49] Perhaps one might speculate that she intuited that men were taking over the history writing of the evangelical movement, tidying up its many "deviations" and undermining their role in its realization.[50]

Katharina von Bora was another omission from Rabus's saints. Historians of the Reformation did not at first monumentalize Bora in the service of the Reformation. Grumbach, however, merited no fewer than fifty pages.[51] A member of the illustrious Stauffer family, she did not continue to write after

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Luther which also includes briefer biographies of Savanarola, Jacob Probst, and Pariciua Hammilton from Scotland. Volumes 5, 6, 7, and 8 include a variety of other recent biographies. Grumbach, in volume 5, was the first contemporary woman he included and he only added more in volume 7. For an excellent modern biography, see Peter Matheson, *Argula von Grumbach (1492–1554/7): A Woman Before her Time* (Eugene, OR: 2013).

48 Katharina Schütz Zell, *Ein Brieff an die gantze Burgerschafft der Statt Straßburg, von Katherina Zellin, dessen jetz säligen Matthei Zellen, deß alten vnd ersten Predigers des Euangelij diser Statt, nachgelassne Ehefraw, Betreffend Herr Ludwigen Rabus, jetz ein Prediger der Statt Vlm* (Strasbourg: 1557). She called herself a "churchmother" (*Kirchenmutter*) from the age of ten years (fol. Aiiv; N iii v) and sought to defend her position in the Strasbourg church.

49 "heidnisch, vnchristlich, erstunken vnd erlogen" (fol. Biv) and "so gedenck man muesse dem narren antworten wie es sich gebuert" (fol. Biir). Schütz Zell, *Ein Brieff*. The exchange between the two is acerbic and much of it turns on whether she has any right to reprimand him. For her part, Zell devotes much space to justifying her role as a pious, godfearing, pleasure-eschewing woman who has given service to the Strasbourg church for years. Her insistence that she is a "church mother" is very interesting in this regard, because she is attempting to create a name and authority for the role she has been exercising.

50 However, Rabus's eighth volume did include a lengthy section devoted to the works of Mattheus Zell.

51 For Argula von Grumbach's section, see Ludwig Rabus, *Der fünffte Theyl von den Heyligen Außerwölten Gottes Zeügen/ Bekennern und Martyrern/ so zu disen unsern letsten zeytten/ darinnen der Allmechtig Ewig Gott seine Kirchen mit der reynen Lehr seines Heyligen worts/ gnädigklichen heymgesucht hat/ hin und wider in allen Landen worden seind* (Strasbourg: 1557), fol. 103v–129r [VD16 R 45]. The section includes many of her published letters, a long verse polemic, and concludes with a poem from an Ingolstadt student attacking her and advising her not to dispute, but to stay at home and keep house.

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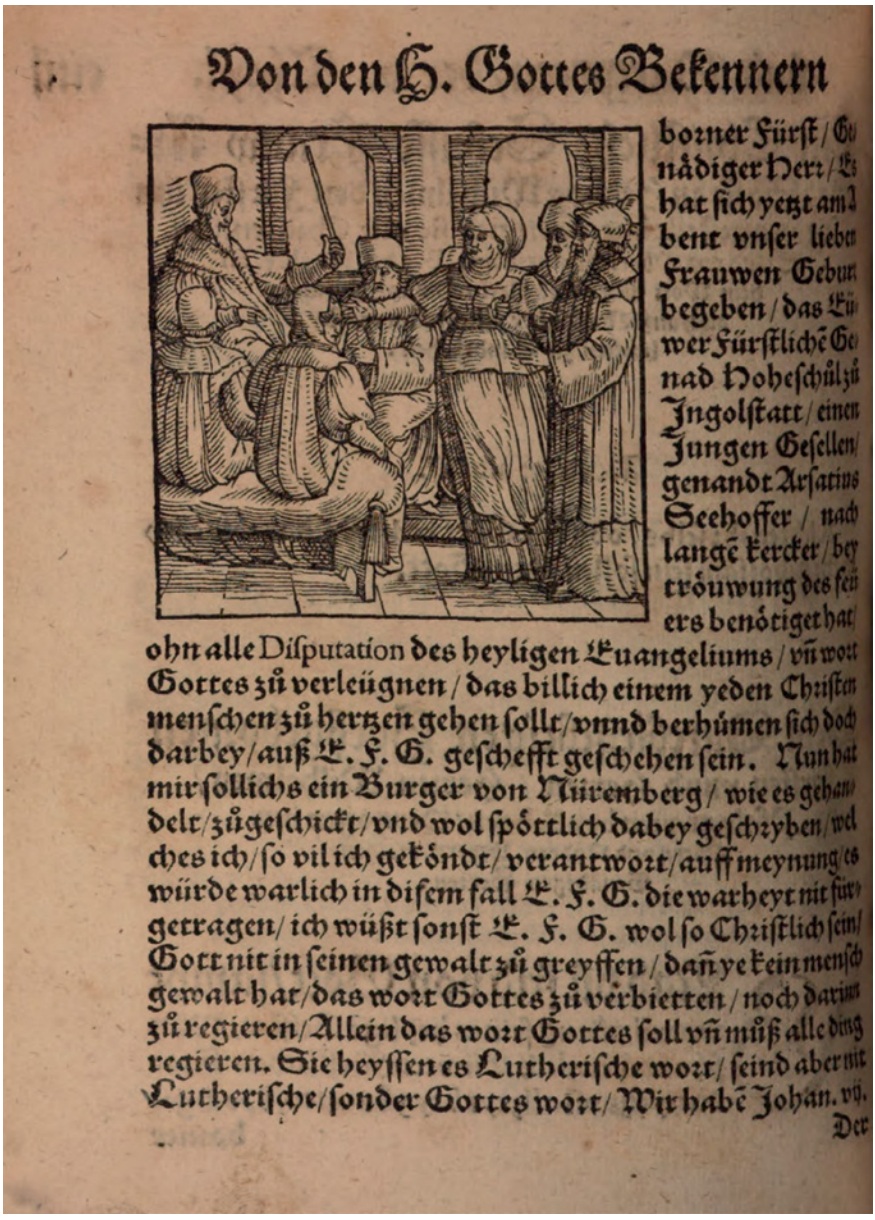
Von den H. Gottes Bekennern
borner Fürſt / Gnädiger Herr / Es hat ſich yetzt am bent vnſer lieben Frauwen Gebur begeben / das Ewer Fürſtliche Gnad Hoheſchůl zů Jngolſtatt / einen Jungen Geſellen / genandt Arſatius Seehoffer / nach langer kercker / bey tröuwung des feürs benötiget hat / ohn alle Diſputation des heyligen Euangeliums / vñ wort Gottes zů verleügnen / das billich einem yeden Chriſten menſchen zů hertzen gehen ſollt / vnnd berhümen ſich doch darbey / auß E. F. G. geſchefft geſchehen ſein. Nun hat mir ſollichs ein Burger von Nüremberg / wie es gehandelt / zůgeſchickt / vnd wol ſpöttlich dabey geſchryben / welches ich / ſo vil ich geköndt / verantwort / auff meynung / es würde warlich in diſem fall E. F. G. die warheyt nit fürgetragen / ich wüßt ſonſt E. F. G. wol ſo Chriſtlich ſein / Gott nit in ſeinen gewalt zů greyffen / dañ ye kein menſch gewalt hat / das wort Gottes zů verbietten / noch darüm zů regieren / Allein das wort Gottes ſoll vñ můß alle ding regieren. Sie heyſſen es Lutheriſche wort / ſeind aber nit Lutheriſche / ſonder Gottes wort / Wir habē Johan. vj.
Der

FIGURE 2.14 Woodcut from Ludwig Rabus, *Historien der Heyligen Außerwölten Gottes Zeügen, Bekennern, vnd Martyrer*, vol. 5 (Strasbourg: 1556), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 V.ss.c. 177–5, fol. Ciiiiv, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10169236-4

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her early forays against the University of Ingolstadt, a citadel of the Catholics by the time Rabus was writing, and she never developed a theology of her own. She could disrupt the dialectics of university men, but she lacked Latin and could not discourse on their terms. A woodcut illustration of the feisty Grumbach taking on the learned doctors thirty years before was even reproduced in Rabus's multi-volume opus, based on the original pamphlet picture of a generation before: Grumbach had entered the Reformation's pantheon. It would be some time before a more elastic view of gender would allow women to enter the public sphere of debate in real life, just as it took time for the Reformation to become comfortable with their founder's marriage and with women's presence in a scholarly space.

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CHAPTER 3

High Noon on the Road to Damascus: A Reformation Showdown and the Role of Horses in Lucas Cranach the Younger's *Conversion of Paul* (1549)

Pia F. Cuneo

Of the myriad insights that the work of Susan Karant-Nunn offers us, it is her perspicacious demonstration of the enormous flexibility of Reformation theology and practice that has influenced my thinking the most.* Whether it concerns outward ritual or inward emotion, the configuring of female gender identity or male, Karant-Nunn has shown us again and again how reformers drew from the past with an eye to the future in order to shape the present. Her attentiveness to a supple yet sagacious pragmatism that could simultaneously encourage and accommodate a range of appropriate responses informs the analysis of a mid-sixteenth-century painting offered here. Looking with such attentiveness at Lucas Cranach the Younger's *Conversion of Paul* (1549) (Fig. 3.1) reveals interrelated networks of visual, textual, theological, and political discourses that together create a subtle yet effective image of Lutheran identity at a critical time in the Reformation.

In their accelerating and intensifying urgency, events in the German lands in the late 1540s could be seen as constituting what is so figuratively referred to in twentieth-century American cinematography as "High Noon," a moment of decisive confrontation when either all is lost or all is won. As a significant parallel, the subject matter of the painting offers its own biblical variant of "High Noon" as Jesus confronts Paul on the road to Damascus in an encounter that will change everything. The sixteenth-century showdown features adherents of the Roman Church led by the Holy Roman emperor and his allies battling the forces of various Protestant constellations for political and confessional control. This essay attends especially to the figures of horses in Cranach's painting, arguing that they make decisive contributions to the image as a response to the dramatic and precarious situation in which Protestants found themselves around 1549.

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FIGURE 3.1 Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Conversion of Paul*, 1549, oil on panel, Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum, Gm 226
COURTESY OF GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, PHOTO JÜRGEN MUSOLF

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The subject matter of Cranach's painting derives from the story of Paul's conversion found in Acts 9:1–19, but specifically it is the events from verses 3–7 that are depicted: Paul falls to the ground, struck by a flash of divine light and the sound of Jesus' voice, while his travel companions mill around in confusion, unable to see the source of the sound.[1] A contemporaneous German pamphlet published in 1553, just four years after the painting was completed, repeats the biblical narrative as related in Acts almost verbatim and thus allows us to relate the painting's subject and narrative to the account in Acts with confidence.[2]

Scholarship on the painting is limited, both in terms of mass and scope. Scholars have identified the architectural structures in the background as the castle complex of the counts of Mansfeld and have linked the commission specifically to Count Albert VII of Mansfeld-Hinterort (1480–1560), founder of one of the three branches of this noble family.[3] Despite its uncritical reiteration in the literature, the suggestion that the painting was commissioned to serve as an epitaph for Albert's son, Wolf, who died in 1546, is unconvincing due to

1 Kurt Löcher, *Die Gemälde des 16. Jahrhunderts: Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Stuttgart: 1997), 164–66; Werner Schade, *Die Maler Familie Cranach* (Dresden: 1974), 389n65; Ingrid Schulze, *Lucas Cranach d. J. und die Protestantische Bildkunst in Sachsen und Thüringen* (Jena: 2004), 70–77. See also the Cranach Digital Archive: http://lucascranach.org/DE_BStGS-GNMN_Gm226, accessed 1 July 2018. The provenance is traceable only to 1811 when the painting entered the collection of Prince Oettingen-Wallenstein from the Oettingen Castle in Hohenaltheim.

2 "Saulus aber schnaubete noch mit drewen un morden wider die Juenger des Herren. Und gieng zum Hohenpriester und bat in umb briefe gegen Damascon an die schulen/ auff das/ so er etliche dieses weges fuende/ Menner und Weiber/ er sie gebunden fuerete gen Jerusalem. Und do er auff dem wege war/ und nahe bey Damascon kam/ umbleuchtet in ploetzlich ein liecht vom himel/ und fiel auff die erden/ und hoeret eine stimme/ die sprach zu im/ Saul/ Saul was verfolgestu mich? Er aber sprach/ Herr/ wer bistu. Der Herr sprach/ ich bein Jhesus den du verfolgest. […] und er sprach mit zittern und zagen/ Herr/ was wiltu das ich thun sol? Der Herr sprach zu im/ stehe auff/ und gehe inn die stadt/ da wird man dir sagen/ was du thun solt. Die menner aber/ die sein geferten waren/ stunden und waren erstarret/ denn sie horeten seine stimme un sahen niemand. Saulus aber/ richt sich auff von der erden/ und als er seine augen auff that/ sahe er niemandts/ sie namen in aber bey der hand/ und fuereten in gen Damascon/ und war drey tage nicht sehend/ un ass nit/ un tranck nit." Georg Maior, *Ein Sermon von S. Pauli und aller Gottfuerchtigen menschen bekerung zu Gott/ Durch D. Georg: Maior. Hieraus […] wird hie angezeigt/ ob/ wie/ welchen/ und warumb gute wercke dennoch zur Seligkeit von noeten* (Leipzig: 1553), H1r–H3v.

3 Irene Roch-Lemmer, "Schloß Mansfeld auf Cranach-Gemälden," in *Martin Luther und der Bergbau im Mansfelder Land*, ed. Rosemarie Knape (Eisleben: 2000), 218–25. See also Robert J. Christman, *Doctrinal Controversy and Lay Religiosity in Late Reformation Germany: The Case of Mansfeld* (Leiden: 2012).

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the fact that the painting lacks the requisite depictions of family members included in paintings functioning in this way.[4]

Cranach's painting is dated 1549 and was thus completed at a time as tumultuous for the Reformation as it was for the painting's patron and its artist. Martin Luther died in February 1546 and the Schmalkaldic War (1546–47) broke out only months afterwards. The decisive imperial victory over the Protestant princes of the Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg in April 1547 put Charles V (1500–58) in a strong position as Protestants attempted to reach settlements with the emperor about what would and would not be tolerated. In the Augsburg Interim, which became imperial law on 30 June 1548, Charles conceded a temporary right for Protestant clergy to be married and for Protestant communities to receive the sacrament in both kinds.[5] In the subsequent Leipzig Interim (December 1548), Protestants endeavored to reach even more concessions but their efforts essentially created a split between those who supported Philipp Melanchthon's attempts to reach a compromise (the Philippists) and those who rejected those efforts as going too far (the Gnesio-Lutherans).[6] Just at the time when Cranach the Younger was producing the painting, Luther's Reformation stood at the brink of failure.

The events and the aftermath of the Schmalkaldic War had a profound effect on the painting's probable patron, Albert of Mansfeld-Hinterort, who participated in the Schmalkaldic war on the side of Elector John Frederick (1503–54). Following the elector's defeat at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547, Emperor Charles dispossessed Albert and his sons of their lands, properties, titles, and privileges by imperial ban. All these, including Castle Mansfeld, were given over to Count Gebhardt VII (1478–1558), Albert's brother, who had withdrawn his support for the Protestant princes and declared his loyalty to the emperor instead.[7]

For artists Lucas Cranach the Elder and the Younger, the Protestant loss of the Schmalkaldic War meant profound and destabilizing changes. After John

4 See the discussion of Cranach the Younger's epitaphs in Susanne Wegmann and Ruth Slenczka, "Epitaphien: Memoria und Konfession," in *Lucas Cranach der Jüngere: Entdeckung eines Meisters*, eds. Roland Enke, Katja Schneider, and Jutta Strehle (Munich: 2015), 393–405.

5 Nathan Baruch Rein, "Faith and Empire: Conflicting Visions of Religion in a Late Reformation Controversy: The Augsburg 'Interim' and its Opponents 1548–50," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 71, no. 1 (2003): 45–74.

6 Robert Kolb, "Dynamics of Party Conflict in the Saxon Late Reformation: Gnesio-Lutherans vs. Philippists," *Journal of Modern History* 49, no. 3 (1977): D1289–D1305.

7 For Albert of Mansfeld, see Hermann Größler, "Graf Albrecht IV von Mansfeld: Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit," *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 18 (1885): 365–400, here 390; Günther Wartenberg, "Die Mansfelder Grafen und der Bergbau," in Knape, *Martin Luther und der Bergbau*, 29–41, here 35–36.

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Frederick's defeat at the Battle of Mühlberg, the emperor took the title of electoral prince of Saxony from the Ernestines and conferred it on Duke Maurice (1521–53) of the Albertine branch of the family. The city of Wittenberg, one of the locations of the Ernestine electoral court and home of the University of Wittenberg, lost its status as the center of court life, which moved to Albertine Dresden. John Frederick was imprisoned until 1552; his court painter, Lucas Cranach the Elder, eventually joined him in his imprisonment in 1550 and died just three years later in Weimar after John Frederick's release and reinstatement to his possessions following Maurice's 1552 betrayal of the emperor. One year prior to his departure, and in the year that the painting was completed, Cranach the Elder transferred ownership of all his possessions in Wittenberg, including the workshop, to his son Cranach the Younger. With the imprisonment of John Frederick and the eventual move of his family and the ducal court to Weimar, Cranach the Younger lost one of his most significant sources of artistic patronage in Wittenberg.[8]

Fortune would soon again look kindly on Luther's Reformation, on Count Albert, and on Lucas Cranach the Younger. Thanks to a military resurgence under Elector Maurice of Saxony, who turned his back on the emperor in 1552, Protestants were able to wrest significant concessions from Charles in the 1552 Treaty of Passau that would lead to confessional autonomy for the territorial princes as proclaimed in the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. In the same year the Treaty of Passau was ratified, the imperial ban on Albert was lifted and the emperor returned all of his lands and titles. Cranach the Younger soon replaced his Ernestine patrons with Albertines. No one could foresee this future good fortune, however, when the painting was completed in 1549, when everything seemed to hang in the balance.[9]

The swirling vortex of chaos and confusion rendered so dramatically in Cranach the Younger's large-scale painting (*c*.3.8 × 5.5 feet) therefore is particularly apposite to the work's historical context. Directly in the painting's foreground and commanding the viewer's attention Cranach has depicted 13 human and equine figures interrupted in their travel and experiencing various emotional and physical states. The humans' and the animals' responses range from abject terror and panic to focused scrutiny. The figures twist and turn; they look around and move about in all different directions. Some of the

8 Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Zwischen Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Die Lebenswelt Lucas Cranachs des Jüngeren," *Lucas Cranach der Jüngere und die Reformation der Bilder*, eds. Elke A. Werner, Anne Eusterschulte, and Gunnar Heydenreich (Munich: 2015), 20–29, here 25–26.

9 Lotz-Heumann, "Zwischen Reformation und Konfessionalisierung," 26; Größler, "Albrecht IV," 396.

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horses buck, rear, wheel, and bolt; some of the men are thrown off balance by their horses' uncontrolled and forceful motion, others dismount. Paul's horse, the bright bay in the left half of the foreground, seems to have stumbled and fallen at the side of the road with Paul still in the saddle. The horse's pose will be addressed more specifically below. With a deeply troubled expression, Paul raises both his hands in the air and looks upward to the figure of the resurrected Jesus, who appears amongst the clouds in the upper left of the painting. Jesus returns Paul's gaze and mirrors his open-armed gesture. The perimeters of a forest and a furrowed landscape occupy the painting's midground, while the Mansfeld castle complex and the sky are rendered in the background.

The conversion of Paul was represented fairly frequently in European art prior to Cranach's 1549 painting. Contrary to the narrative in Acts, almost all of these Italian, French, Netherlandish and German works include horses. Paul's horse in particular is represented in Italian art either from behind running away (Michelangelo, 1542–45), or from various angles rearing up (Giovanni Bellini, 1471–74; Parmigianino, 1527; Pordenone, early 1530s).[10] Art produced north of the Alps contributes an additional pose for Paul's horse to those already mentioned. In works by Jean Fouquet and Hans Baldung (Fig. 3.2), for example, the animal lies belly down on the ground with one foreleg extended in front of his body, the other foreleg bent at the knee and tucked underneath.[11]

The Cranachs did not often represent this conversion scene, a surprising fact due to their relationships with Luther for whom St. Paul was so significant.[12] In fact, Lucas Cranach the Elder depicted this dramatic event only once, not in an independent image but as the title page frame to Luther's *Auslegung der Episteln und Evangelien vom Advent an bis auff Ostern* (1526) (Fig. 3.3).[13] For the

10 For the Michelangelo, Conversion of Paul, see https://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/michelan/2paintin/4paul1.html, accessed 24 August 2018; for the Bellini, Conversion of Paul, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bellini,_pala_di_pesaro_04_predella.JPG, accessed 15 September 2018; for the Parmigianino, Conversion of Paul, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Parmigianino_-_The_Conversion_of_St_Paul_-_WGA17030.jpg, accessed 15 September 2018; for the Pordenone, Conversion of Paul, see https://www.themorgan.org/collection/drawings/142511, accessed 15 September 2018.

11 For Baldung, see Lynn Jacobs, "Conversion of St. Paul," in *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings*, eds. James H. Marrow and Charles W. Talbot (New Haven: 1981), 210–12, cat. no. 52.

12 See Susanne Wegmann, "Sein letztes Werk: Lucas Cranach der Jüngere und die Bekehrung Pauli," in Werner, Eusterschulte, and Heydenreich, *Reformation der Bilder*, 84–93. In addition to his 1549 painting, Cranach returned to the subject matter of the conversion of Paul in an epitaph painted for Veit Oertel in the last year of Cranach's life, 1586. In its structure, the epitaph differs completely from the 1549 painting.

13 Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnung, Druckgraphik*, vol. 1 (Basel: 1974), 360, cat. no. 243; 357, ill. 197.

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FIGURE 3.2
Hans Baldung Grien, *Conversion of Paul*, *c.*1515, woodcut, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Open Access

purposes of this essay, Cranach the Elder's woodcut is remarkable for a number of reasons. First, its location on the title page of Luther's *Exegesis* connects the subject matter directly to the works of the reformer. Second, the artist has made subtle but significant changes to the pose of Paul's horse. The forelegs (one extended straight in front, the other bent at the knee) are the same as in the works by artists such as Fouquet and Baldung, but the animal is not lying supine; instead, the hindquarters are lifted above the ground by deeply bent hocks and thus appear to be higher than the horse's head and neck. The effect of this bodily disposition is that the horse appears to be executing a (somewhat awkward but recognizable) four-legged genuflection. In addition, Cranach the Elder has redirected the unfocused gaze of the horse as it appears in other depictions to an unswerving visual encounter with the gaze of the viewer. Not only does the horse appear to genuflect, but the animal demands that the viewer recognize this action and understand its significance. Cranach the Younger repeated this exact pose for the depiction of Paul's horse in his 1549 painting.

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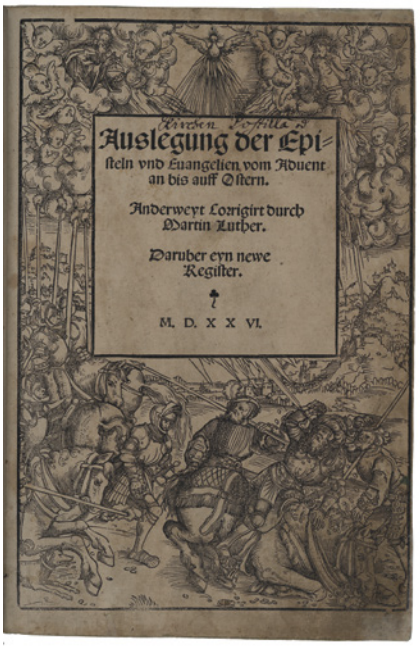

FIGURE 3.3
Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Conversion of Paul*, title page woodcut from Martin Luther, *Auslegung der Episteln und Evangelien vom Advent an bis auff Ostern* (Wittenberg: 1526), Forschungsbibliothek Gotha der Universität Erfurt, Theol 2° 335/2 (1)

Genuflection is by definition an action performed out of reverence for the divine. Within the narrative context of the conversion event, this action indicates that the animal apprehends the presence of God whereas the humans do not. There is a long textual and visual tradition of this special power of animal perception from early Christianity through to Cranach's own day. Examples include the miracle of the ass who knelt reverently when St. Anthony of Padua (1195–1231) presented the animal with the Eucharist, thus confirming the real presence in the sacrament. This event was depicted in various media, including a bronze relief panel by Donatello cast in the 1440s for the high altar of the Basilica Sant'Antonio in Padua (the ass kneels down on both knees). Those viewing the image surely would have understood such miracles and legends primarily as highlighting human incomprehension rather than as elevating animal intelligence. Nonetheless, in these texts and images animals like the ass are accorded a degree of respect and recognition for an enviably direct and unmediated relationship with the divine that appears to be simply a part of their very nature and being.[14]

14 For a discussion of animals in the legend of Saint Anthony of Padua, see Laura Hobgood-Oster, *Holy Dogs and Asses: Animals in the Christian Tradition* (Chicago: 2008), 66–67. My thanks to Jeff Tyler for reminding me of the story of Balaam's ass

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Cranach's figuration of Paul's horse in his 1549 painting was undoubtedly informed by his father's iconography established in the 1526 title page woodcut and by the image's attendant assumptions about animals. Doing more than simply repeating the pose of Paul's horse, however, Cranach untangled his father's equine from the knot of surrounding figures in the woodcut and cleared a space for the horse at the center left of his painting, allowing the viewer to first notice and then carefully study the animal's pose. In the 1526 woodcut, only four other horses are visible. They appear on the left as incomplete figures posed with rather unimaginative predictability, presenting alternating views of each horse's head and neck and of the hindquarters. Cranach added many more horses to his painting, each one completely individualized in terms of pose and color. Their lively dispositions and expressions, in addition to their sheer number and the amount of space they occupy in the foreground, make the horses some of the most important characters in the depicted drama.

The careful attention paid to horses by Cranach should not be surprising. Both he and his father were closely involved with the equiculture practiced by their princely patrons. Over the courses of their individual and collaborative careers, patrons called upon the Cranachs to illustrate numerous tournaments and hunts, events vital to the perception and experience of any noble court. That these depictions were not merely matters of recycled iconography is indicated by the level of the Cranachs' involvement with these events. Not only did they produce objects such as the so-called *Tournament Book of Elector John Frederick* featuring full-page illustrations of 146 specifically labeled and dated jousting runs, but they were also paid to decorate the ceremonial trappings worn by horses during tournaments and festivals on several occasions.[15] In addition, clear evidence demonstrates that patrons requested that the artists attend events featuring, among other things, feats of skilled horsemanship. In a letter to Lucas Cranach the Younger dated 1 July 1555, for example, Elector August of Saxony instructed the artist to bring his equipment to Schweinitz so that Cranach could observe and make sketches of the hunt that would take place there in order ultimately to produce a large-scale painting on panel or canvas from these studies.[16] To judge from their other paintings of hunt

(Num. 22:21–35) as an important example of animal perception of the divine. According to the biblical text, the ass signals her perception by falling, rather than genuflecting.

15 Ink drawings colored in gouache, partially illuminated, after 1539/before 1543. Stefanie Knöll, "Turnierbuch Kurfürst Johann Friedrichs I von Sachsen," in *Ritter, Bauern, Lutheraner: Katalog zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung*, eds. Peter Wolf, et al. (Augsburg: 2017), 194–96.

16 Monika and Dietrich Lücke, eds., *Lucas Cranach der Jüngere: Archivalische Quellen zu Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: 2017), 119.

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scenes, what Cranach would have been carefully observing and sketching in Schweinitz included hunters mounted on horseback.[17]

In fashioning equine figures such as the ones literally foregrounded in his painting depicting the conversion of Paul, Cranach did not draw only on iconographic precedents such as his father's 1526 woodcut, he also supplemented that iconography with an acquaintance of horses and horsemanship gained through his various activities as a court artist. This familiarity with and knowledge of horses may well have been especially valued by the painting's probable patron, Count Albert of Mansfeld. According to Luther, horsemanship initiated his first direct contact with Albert. Luther encountered the count in 1518 on the road as each was returning home from the Diet of Augsburg and it was Luther's poor horsemanship that drew him to the count's bemused attention.[18] Albert was a man who not only valued good horsemanship (to judge from Luther's account) but who depended on it for his own personal and political survival. As a member of the nobility and as a commander-in-chief, Albert would have been trained to the level requisite for effective performance of skilled horsemanship, both on and off the battlefield. For example, Count Albert won his most notable battle during the Schmalkaldic War on horseback, leading a mounted battalion against the Catholic Duke Eric II of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Calenberg (1528–84). Albert's improbable victory on 24 May 1547 over a substantially larger opposing army was celebrated in ballads praising, among other things, his skill and bravery as he led the charge of his mounted forces into direct confrontation with the enemy.[19]

With Cranach, Albert of course shared familiarity with and loyalty to Luther. By the time Luther died in 1546, Albert had supported Luther and his cause for decades. Albert began the process of reforming his territories according to Luther's guidance in 1523, and by 1525 Albert and his brother Gebhardt openly declared their support of Luther. In that same year he quashed the peasants' revolt in his lands, and in 1531 he joined the Schmalkaldic League along with John Frederick as one of its founding members.[20] As it happened, Luther's life ended in the service of Count Albrecht. At the count's request, Luther had traveled to Eisleben to broker negotiations between Albert, his brother, and

17 For a discussion of images of courtly representation, including hunting scenes, by both Cranach the Elder and the Younger, see Koepplin and Falk, *Cranach*, vol. 1, 185–253.

18 Größler, "Albrecht IV," 367.

19 Größler, "Albrecht IV," 391.

20 Lothar Berndorff, *Die Prediger der Grafschaft Mansfeld: Eine Untersuchung zum geistlichen Sonderbewusstsein in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Potsdam: 2010), 44n100; Siegfried Bräuer, "Bauernkrieg in der Grafschaft Mansfeld: Fiktion und Fakten," in Knape, *Martin Luther and Bergbau*, 134–40.

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his cousins. Towards the end of the negotiations, Luther's health suddenly declined precipitously. Albert and his wife personally attended him, but despite all efforts, Luther died on 18 February 1546. At the head of the formal funerary procession honoring Luther rode Count Albert; his son Hans took the count's place beyond the city limits and then on to Wittenberg.[21]

Through his personal acquaintance with Luther, Albert was more than just familiar with the reformer's ideas; indeed, the count repeatedly chose to act upon and implement some of those concepts in his territories and in his personal and political life. Luther even dedicated his first church postil to Albert in 1521. Albert's receptivity to Luther's new and challenging ideas may have been conditioned not only by the proclivities of the count's heart but also by the training of his mind. Having received an education at the University of Leipzig, Albert was more learned than some of his peers. Even Melanchthon praised him as intellectually gifted.[22] Furthermore, through his connections to Luther's networks and his own fealty to the Ernestine electors, Albert was familiar with Luther's friends and the Ernestine court artists, the Cranachs. When commissioning an ambitiously large-scale, multi-figural painting that included a portrait of the castle complex at Mansfeld, Albert turned to the Cranachs, who had produced similarly sized paintings, for example of ceremonial hunts, that included forests, horsemen, and specific architectural structures.

If the scale and some of the details associate Cranach's 1549 painting of the conversion of Paul with works done for the Ernestine electors, its subject matter and composition connect it with Luther. Four years prior to the painting's completion, Luther published an autobiographical account of his own "conversion" (the so-called *Turmerlebnis*) that had occurred decades before, perhaps while reading Paul's letter to the Romans.[23] The reformer's special fondness for Paul is of course well known. In 1545, Luther completed his final lectures on Genesis at the University of Wittenberg, after the first volume of his commentaries on books 1–11 were published the year before in 1544.[24] In his commentaries on Books 1 and 2 of Genesis, Luther described the effect of human sin on animals. Prior to the fall, "Adam had a perfect knowledge of all nature,

21 Größler, "Albrecht IV," 385–86.

22 Größler, "Albrecht IV," 367.

23 W. D. J. Cargill Thompson, "The Problem of Luther's 'Tower-Experience' and its Place in his Intellectual Development," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 187–211.

24 John A. Maxfield, *Luther's Lectures on Genesis and the Formation of Evangelical Identity* (Kirksville, MO: 2008), 9n20.

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FIGURE 3.4 Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Conversion of Paul* (divided into two vertical halves), 1549, oil on panel, Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum, Gm 226
COURTESY OF GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, PHOTO JÜRGEN MUSOLF

of animals [...], and of all other creatures."[25] However, when Adam and Eve fell into disobedience, their sin infected the natural world: "[A]ll these thorns and thistles, and this ferocity of beasts, are the consequences of original sin, by which all the rest of the creation contracted a corruption."[26] In this passage, Luther showed how human sin, like a terrible plague, had infected and corrupted the animals, causing them to become unknown to humans, to withhold their obedience and even, in some cases, to become humans' mortal enemies. Human sin is punished by, among other things, animal enmity and recalcitrance. In Cranach's painting, the horses' actions and the work's compositional structure acquire particular meaning if viewed through the lens of Luther's concept of animal behavior articulated in his commentaries.

At first glance, the painting's composition seems oddly off-kilter. In the foreground, the tight cluster of riders on the left does not balance the spread out group of horsemen on the right. The castle complex in the background seems

25 Martin Luther, *Commentary on Genesis*, in *The Precious and Sacred Writings of Martin Luther*, trans. John Nicholas Lenker (Minneapolis: 1904–10), vol. 1, 118.

26 Luther, *Commentary on Genesis*, vol. 1, 118.

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somewhat haphazardly inserted between the midground tree tops on the right and a peculiarly shaped hillock above the figure of Paul. The rationale behind the composition, however, becomes clear if the painting is divided vertically into two equal halves (Fig. 3.4). Divided down the middle, the painting reveals that what is depicted are two oppositional groups, each responding to the events in very different ways. The horses on the right defy their riders' attempts to control them and refuse to obey. As any viewer familiar with horses would recognize, this kind of flight response is natural for a frightened horse when the animal's instincts to save himself overpower the human's attempt at control. Yet a viewer also familiar with Luther's biblical exegesis might further interpret this behavior as an example of that animal insubordination with which Adam and Eve were punished for their own sin of disobedience, as explicated by Luther in his Genesis commentaries. Just as the recalcitrance of animals marked Adam's sinful state after the fall, so the disobedient horses in the painting serve to identify their riders as sinful. The horses scatter in all directions, fleeing in terror from this encounter along with their riders, just as Adam and Eve attempted to hide from God after their disobedience. Two of the men dismount in order to attend to Paul, while two men at the right periphery of the group appear to be discussing the events unfolding before them. Because of their location on the viewer's right side of the composition, this group would appear on the side of the damned falling into hell if this were a Last Judgement scene, and indeed the risen Christ appears in the sky in this painting as He does in depictions of the Last Judgement.

The instinct to interpret the behavior of the horses on the right as more than just a natural equine response is supported by the very different behavior of the horses—and their riders—on the left. Instead of bucking and bolting off in different directions, these horses remain together in a compact group. They are definitely alert: their ears are pricked forward, and the brown horse has even elevated his forelegs in a low rear; the horses, however, remain essentially under the control of their riders. Their compliance, unusual for the situation, may serve to indicate their humans' righteousness, the animals' obedience mirroring rightful dominion as exercised by Adam before the fall. Although the riders are unable to see Jesus in the heavens, they all gaze generally in the same direction instead of looking every which way as do the riders on the right. These men on the left do not run away but stand quietly together as if trying as a community to understand what is happening. All of the horses in the left group focus on Saul's mount executing his reverent genuflection. Their careful scrutiny of him prompts the viewer to notice and understand the significance of the horse's action. To underscore this further, of all the many figures rendered in this painting, it is Saul's horse alone who makes eye contact

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with the viewer, as if demanding that the viewer both see and comprehend the divine intervention occurring before them. The placement of this group of horses and riders at the viewer's left equates them with the saved, who at the Last Judgement ascend to heaven.

How are these two groups to be understood? Marked by their position in the composition, by their horses' obedience, and by their proximity to Paul, who is beginning the process of conversion, and to his horse, who is already fully enlightened, the tight-knit cluster of men at the left would seem to be characterized by a certain virtuousness. Although none of the men actually look in the direction of the risen Jesus and thus do not see him, they are located directly underneath him. They appear united in their concerted effort to remain steadfast and to comprehend the significance of events unfolding before them. They may be identified as those who, in seeking to understand the truth of the situation, also seek salvation; they are literally on the same side as Jesus. In contrast, the riders on the right display a series of responses. The two men at the right periphery are too removed from the hub of activity to actively engage with what is happening while the two men who dismount to attend to Paul, and those who struggle with their horses' recalcitrance, are focused on the non-essentials. Through their dissipated energies and lack of appropriate focus, as well as their placement on the right of the composition, these men would be identified as standing on the wrong side of the soteriological divide.

The comparative juxtaposition that we see in the painting of two oppositional groups unequal in their understanding of and therefore access to salvation is a visual strategy repeatedly used by the Cranach workshop in images contrasting the fate of humankind before and after Jesus' salvific act of sacrifice. Lucas Cranach the Elder first utilized this iconography, referred to in art historical scholarship as "Law and Grace," in 1529.[27] In two paintings dated that year (Prague and Gotha), Cranach depicts death as the ultimate human fate under Mosaic law, contrasting this with eternal life made possible by God's grace and Jesus' sacrifice on the cross.[28] Cranach the Younger also utilized this iconography in his works as early as 1541. Here the contrasting images feature as the title page woodcut to Luther's translation of the Bible.[29] Interestingly, the earliest painting by Cranach the Younger depicting Law and Grace is dated in the same year as the 1549 Conversion of Paul.[30] Even more significant for

27 Carl Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, OH: 1979), 124–30.

28 Koepplin and Falk, *Cranach*, vol. 2, 505–10.

29 *Biblia Das ist: Die gantze heilige Schrifft-Deudsch* (Wittenberg: 1541); Koepplin and Falk, *Cranach*, 407, cat. no. 279; 401, ill. 223.

30 Koepplin and Falk, *Cranach*, vol. 2, 510.

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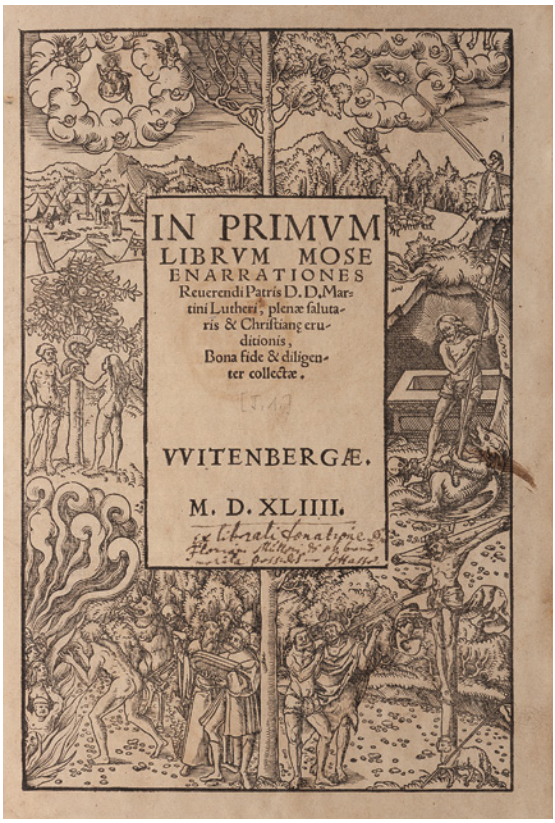

FIGURE 3.5
Lucas Cranach the Younger?, *Law and Grace*, title page woodcut from Martin Luther, *In primum librum Mose enarrationes* (Wittenberg, 1544), Herzog August Bibliothek, Li 4° 284 (1)
COURTESY OF THE HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK

this essay, Law and Grace iconography is used for the title page of the first volume of Luther's commentaries on Genesis (Fig. 3.5).[31] This oppositional set of images used for Luther's text pairs those who do with those who do not have access to salvific grace. A similar distinction is expressed by an analogous visual strategy in Cranach's 1549 painting. These visual divisions and confrontations are remarkably apposite to the imagery's historical contexts.

The fissure in Christianity created by theological, social, political and economic issues during the early years of the Reformation had widened to a gaping chasm by mid-century. At that point it was no longer a dichotomous matter of Luther's followers versus those loyal to the Roman Church, but the evangelicals themselves had fractured between followers of Luther, Calvin, and other groups such as the Anabaptists and Zwinglians. The Leipzig Interim of 1548 created further factions, splintering the Protestants between those who saw

31 Martin Luther, *In primum librum Mose enarrationes reverend Patris D. D. Martini Lutheri* (Wittenberg: 1544).

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themselves as more narrowly faithful to Luther and those who agreed with Melanchthon that a truly evangelical position still permitted compromise where necessary and possible.

It is therefore no surprise to find that Cranach's painting participated in this context of fracture. As noted earlier, both the artist and the patron were directly impacted by these struggles to define and defend "true" Protestant identity. In treating the conversion of Paul, the subject matter of the painting deals with phenomena similar to mid-sixteenth-century events. The Pharisee Saul's vicious persecution of Jesus's followers after the savior's crucifixion—the efforts of one group and its understanding of godliness to eradicate another—could be understood as a parallel to the Emperor Charles' attempts, recently activated in the Schmalkaldic War, to destroy the Reformation following the recent death of Luther. Yet despite the odds, as the story from Acts clarifies, the small, fragile community of believers will be saved. Through divine intervention, even the fiercest of persecutors is made to see his errors and turn from false practices and spiritual blindness to true belief and enlightenment. The beginning of this terrifying but hopeful transition is exactly what the painting depicts.

The painting's compositional structure with its division into two oppositional groups underscores contemporaneous conflicts that even rent the perpetually contentious counts of Mansfeld asunder. The invisible line demarcating the painting into two halves runs straight through Mansfeld castle, separating the "Hinterort" section of the complex belonging to Count Albert from the rest of the complex belonging to his brother and cousins. While all of the counts had embraced Protestantism by 1546, Albert was the only one who supported the Elector John Frederick in the Schmalkaldic War and its aftermath; his cousins and brother Gebhardt, in contrast, allied themselves with the Albertine and (briefly) pro-imperial Maurice of Saxony.[32]

Exactly when the painting was commissioned is unknown, and it is a somewhat perplexing question. Records mentioned earlier documenting Duke August's commission of Cranach for a painting of a hunt may be somewhat helpful in suggesting an approximate date. The duke's commission was made in a letter dated 1 July 1555, and receipt for the finished painting is recorded on 23 December of that same year.[33] This indicates that the artist may have been able to complete the *Conversion of Paul* in a matter of months, and that Albert could have commissioned Cranach in the same year as the painting's completion. A 1549 commission would mean that Albert by that time would have experienced the death of Luther (1546), the Schmalkaldic War with John Frederick's

32 Berndorff, *Prediger*, 43–47.

33 Lücke and Lücke, *Archivalische Quellen*, 119 and 123.

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defeat and Maurice's ascendancy to the position as elector of Saxony (1546–47), the count's spectacular mounted battle against Eric II (1547), and the intense negotiations between Protestants and the emperor hashed out in the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims (1548). It is likely that Cranach and Albert were in contact around this time because the artist produced a full-length woodcut portrait of the count that is dated 1548 (Fig. 3.6). What is puzzling about a commission around 1549 is the fact that within weeks of John Frederick's defeat at the Battle of Mühlberg (April 1547), the emperor dispossessed Albert of all his titles, lands, and properties as punishment for his support of the former elector. Although the imperial ban would be reversed in 1552, there was no way of knowing this fact in advance. It would therefore seem odd for Albert to commission a large-scale painting at a time when he literally did not have a place to put it. Unfortunately, the painting's provenance provides no help in this regard as it does not reveal where the work originally was located following its completion.

Despite all these uncertainties, a possible interpretation of Cranach's painting may proceed along the following trajectory. The riders at the left who seem intent on understanding the significance and meaning of the unfolding dramatic events, the ones who by their location on the left side of the composition correspond to the side of the saved in Last Judgement imagery, would be identified as Albert and his allies. Perhaps the armored knight in the foreground dismounting from his completely obedient horse is meant to portray the patron Albert himself. The expression on this figure's face is especially intense, engaged, and searching. The full moustache that spills over the sides of the knight's helmet corresponds to the heavy growth of facial hair represented in Cranach's woodcut portrait of the count from the previous year (Albert's short beard would be presumably hidden by the lower portion of the helmet encircling his jaw). Indeed, of all the horses it is Albert's gray who studies Paul's mount with acute scrutiny, establishing a special bond of recognition between the one horse who spontaneously responds to the presence of the divine, and the other horse who attentively observes this action. The obedience and the perspicacity of Albert's gray horse may indeed be interpreted as a reflection of his rider's virtuous and pious character.

That the biblical events unfolding before Albert are meant to be understood in specific contemporaneous terms is indicated by the inclusion of sixteenth-century armor, clothing, weaponry, and tack. Included in the chaotic group of riders on the right corresponding to the figures of the damned in Last Judgement imagery, are two figures who are dressed specifically in sixteenth-century garb as worn by the Spanish Habsburg court of Charles V. The figures appear opposite one another, one in the foreground, the other in the background, as

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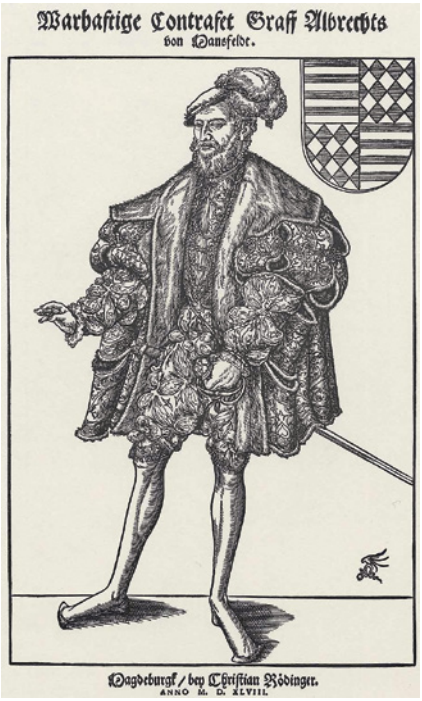

FIGURE 3.6
Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Count Albert of Mansfeld*, woodcut, 1548

if framing the group at the front and at the back. The foreground figure, represented as dismounting from his disobedient, bucking horse, wears a short black tunic and a black cylindrical hat.[34] Habsburg portraits, such as the one by Sofonisba Anguissola of Charles' son Philip II of Spain (1527–98) from 1573, portray the sitter in similar attire.[35] The dismounting figure wields a battle-axe, signaling his role as military commander. This portrait may be a likeness of the commander-in-chief of the imperial Spanish troops in Germany, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (1507–82), who is portrayed with a long greying beard similar to the one sported by the figure in Cranach's painting.[36] The

34 The figure of the bucking horse is very similar to a horse in a very similar pose found in one of Baldung's three woodcuts from 1534 depicting wild horses in the forest. Indeed, the animation and variety of poses may have been partially inspired by these prints. See Jay A. Levenson, "Wild Horses in a Wood," in *Hans Baldung Grien*, eds. James H. Marrow and Charles W. Talbot (New Haven: 1981), 264–69, cat. nos. 83–85.

35 For Sofonisba Anguissola portrait of Philip II, see https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/philip-ii/7d7280d6-5603-488a-8521-933acc357d7a, accessed 15 September 2018.

36 For the portrait of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fernando_Álvarez_de_Toledo,_3rd_Duke_of_Alba#/media/File:

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other figure wearing a black Spanish hat is the mounted, armored rider in the background. Because of the hat and his short, square beard, this may be a portrait of Charles V, rendered perhaps in conversation with his ally Maurice of Saxony, identified by his long red beard.

The assignment of distinct historical personages to Cranach's figures cannot be made with total certainty and is definitely open to debate. Nonetheless, what is made visually clear is that Paul's companions, those who accompany him in his persecutorial pursuits and who are understood in contemporaneous terms to be the enemies of Jesus and his followers, are the Spanish and their allies. From a Protestant perspective, those who remained loyal to the Roman Church were clinging, like the Pharisees, to practices and beliefs that were in the process of being supplanted by those that God wanted His people to activate and possess. This process of displacement was painful, difficult, and even violent, but as the biblical narrative and Cranach's painting relate, anything is possible with God, who will intervene directly not only to save His followers, but ultimately to convert those who persecute Him.

Violence and persecution would continue for some time. By 1549, Albert had settled in Magdeburg. Cranach's woodcut portrait of the count dated 1548 was printed and published by Christian Rödinger of Magdeburg, perhaps indicating that Albert's connections to this city were already taking shape in that year. Like Albert, Magdeburg had also been punished with an imperial ban, the city's disloyalty residing in its refusal to abide by the Augsburg Interim of 1548. Albert functioned as one of the main commanders who defended the city during the siege of Magdeburg undertaken in 1550 at the emperor's command by Elector Maurice. Belonging to Maurice's forces and thus part of the army Albert was working to repel was Albert's cousin, Hans George (1515–79). The city eventually was forced to capitulate in 1551.[37]

Perhaps Cranach's painting constituted part of Albert's temporary household in Magdeburg. If so, it would have provided the count with an image of hope. The painting locates Albert on the "right" side of the confessional/political divide while entertaining the possibility that his adversaries, who included members of his own family as well as noble overlords to whom he owed fealty, would one day, with God's help, realize the errors of their ways and that true faith and political unity would ultimately prevail. That unity would presumably also entail the return of Albert's lost titles and properties, including his portion

Fernando_%C3%81lvarez_de_Toledo,_III_Duque_de_Alba,_por_Antonio_Moro.jpg, accessed 15 September 2018.

37 Größler, "Albrecht IV," 394–96; Berndorff, *Prediger*, 40.

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of Castle Mansfeld, depicted in the painting's background with what might have been for Albert an especially poignant accuracy. Painted by an artist who had produced hunt scenes of similar format and structure for John Frederick, the image may also have functioned as an enduring expression of loyalty to and alliance with a fellow supporter and defender of Luther's Reformation.

Around 1549, the complete collapse of that Reformation seemed like a frighteningly real possibility. Following Luther's death and Protestant defeat in the Schmalkaldic War, loyal adherents to the Roman Church had gained the upper hand while reformed groups fell into fractious disarray in response. Lucas Cranach the Younger's *Conversion of Paul* paints a thinly disguised portrait of these troubled times when the stakes of winding up on the losing side of the political and theological battles were intensely personal, involving everything from the break-up of families and the dispossession of properties and titles to exile, death, and damnation. Ostensibly illustrating the narrative from Acts in which Jesus intervenes suddenly and dramatically to save His followers from those who persecute them, and ultimately to save even the persecutors from themselves, the painting uses compositional strategies of opposition and the inclusion of contemporaneous details such as clothing, weaponry, and tack to draw unmistakable parallels between biblical and present times. On the losing side of power politics at the time of the painting's facture, the patron is represented nonetheless as standing on the winning side of true righteousness. The ultimate victory of that side, impossible though that might have seemed, is intimated by the familiar conclusion of the biblical text. The message of the painting is clear: the true followers of Jesus will be saved in the sixteenth century just as they were in the first.

Significantly contributing to this complex narrative interweaving past, present, and future are the horses depicted so vibrantly in the painting's foreground. Politics and theology are not the only issues relevant here; so is horsemanship. Indeed, the interactions between horse and rider, and between the horses themselves, aid in illuminating these political and theological issues with which both patron and artist were most likely familiar. Engaged in battles, performing in tournaments, participating in hunts, and depicted in works of art, horses' bodies provided the physical and visual means by which noble as well as artistic identities were performed. This essay has suggested that Cranach drew on a combination of iconographical tradition and innovation, and on his own experience of equiculture as a court artist, in a fashion that would have appealed to the patron's direct involvement in and knowledge of horsemanship. Cranach uses the figures of the horses to create the dynamic hermeneutic fulcrum upon which the entire work depends: the distinction

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between the sinful and the saved, between those who lack all awareness of God in their midst and those who instinctively bow down before the presence of the divine.

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CHAPTER 4

Aging and Retirement of Former Nuns after the Reforming of the Convent in Ernestine Saxony

Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer

In 1552, Katharina von Bora, former Cistercian nun from the convent of Nimbschen and widow of Martin Luther, arrived penniless and injured in Torgau. Despite all her well-lauded household management skills during her married life and her husband's will leaving her a lifetime endowment, use of property, and moveable goods, the death of her husband and the chaos of the aftermath of the Schmalkaldic War in Ernestine Saxony reduced the worth and availability of those items.[1] Payment of her annuities were irregular, the properties in Wittenberg and elsewhere were decimated during the war, and her attempts to seek refuge elsewhere were expensive, leaving Bora in a precarious financial situation compounded by growing debt during the years after 1546. Like many former nuns, she found herself writing letter after letter begging for her promised annuities, first to Elector John Frederick until his imprisonment after the battle of Mühlberg and then to King Christian III of Denmark.[2] Her efforts were to little avail as promised payments came late and often not at all. To compound her circumstances, Bora suffered a serious injury from an accident during her flight from Wittenberg to Torgau seeking help and refuge during an outbreak of the plague in 1552, which ultimately led to her death.[3] Despite the misfortunes of her last years, she fared better than most former nuns. A young woman when she left the convent, she experienced a long, relatively conventional phase of life as a wife, mother, and successful businesswoman. Like many former nuns, however, the greatest cost of leaving the convent became most evident after the death of her husband and her own inability to continue

1 For Martin Luther's will, see Landesarchiv Thüringen—Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Ernestinisches Gesamtarchiv (hereafter as ThHStAW, EGA), Reg. N, Nr. 182, 10r–13v (6 January 1542).

2 For citations and translations of these letters, see Jeanette C. Smith, "Katharina von Bora Through Five Centuries: A Historiography," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 3 (1999): 745–74, here 769–74.

3 For a description of Bora's final years, see Smith, "Katharina von Bora Through Five Centuries," 752–53; Martin Treu, "Katharina von Bora, The Woman at Luther's Side," *Lutheran Quarterly* 13 (1999): 157–78, here 173–74.

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working became obvious. Katharina von Bora was not alone in how her experience as a former nun changed as she aged.

In *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (1979), Susan Karant-Nunn meticulously examines the topic of the practical implications of the social and economic changes for the secular clergy as a result of the reform movement in Ernestine Saxony.[4] Creatively using visitation and consistory court records to track pay, perquisites, and other forms of compensation, her research demonstrates the degree to which most communities in Ernestine Saxony proved ill-prepared or unwilling to provide for the well-being of the newly married clergy and their families. In the course of that discussion, Karant-Nunn shows how a lack of foresight on the part of reform leaders led to significant hardship for pastors and their families.[5] She notes at one point that the clearest evidence for this development was the dire financial situation of the widows of the first pastors, evidenced by "hundreds" of petitions from pastor's widows located in the Thuringian State Archives in Weimar.[6] While not explicit in its look at the emotional impact of this situation on those women, Karant-Nunn's later work on religious suffering and feelings shows how her own historical methodology developed. Her research on the personal experiences of religious life and ritual practice can be beneficially applied to a new consideration of aging, widowhood, and death among pastor's wives.[7]

While this essay will not take up that task, it will explore petitions located in Weimer to consider the emotional, religious, and financial suffering of another group of women who combined the experience of the first generation of Lutheran pastors and their widows in Ernestine Saxony: former nuns. Regardless of their age at the time of departure or of their convents' move to secular control, nuns leaving in the 1520s or staying in their convents after the early 1530s faced numerous challenges in their new lives as laywomen, none so complicated as the financial implications of laicization.[8] Part of the reason

4 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia: 1979).

5 Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, 33–34, 72.

6 Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, 35–36, 66.

7 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: 2010), esp. 159–214; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (New York: 1997). For an exploration of the ritual suffering of widows at their husbands' death, see also Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'With covered faces': An Emotion Ritual in Early Modern Germany," in *Rituals of Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Edward Muir*, eds. Mark Jurdjevic and Rolf Strøm-Olsen (Toronto: 2016), 391–412.

8 Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham: 2012), 162–65, 240–41.

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was that they, unlike their social peers outside of the convent, began their adult lives after leaving their monasteries with few, if any resources. In doing so, they entered the potentially precarious financial conditions experienced by many non-elite single women and widows across early modern Europe. Like their lay sisters, former nuns used personal and financial strategies including marriages or, for those unable to marry or marrying men unable to provide stable financial support, became maids or sewed to earn a living to improve their personal circumstances.[9] The nuns and former nuns had one additional source of financial support not available to the laity: they could and did use a rhetoric of suffering resulting from the choices made for devotional lives, whether as nuns or based on their decision to leave the convent to follow reform teachings, to appeal for additional aid from secular rulers and their created social ties from the convent to improve their ability to survive.[10]

While many former nuns felt the lack of financial support at departure or convent secularization, they only realized the full social and personal costs of the reform of the convent long after secular leaders had heeded the early evangelical calls for the end of monasticism.[11] Part of the reason for this was that challenges sharpened and increased as the women aged, lost their convent community and members of their family, and found themselves unable to

9 For recent studies of single women, whether never married, abandoned, or widowed, see, for instance, Mireia Comas-Via, "Widowhood and Economic Difficulties in Medieval Barcelona," *Historical Reflections* 43, no. 1 (2017): 93–103; Ariadne Schmidt and Manon van der Heijden, "Women Alone in Early Modern Dutch Towns: Opportunities and Strategies to Survive," *Journal of Urban History* 42 (2016): 21–38. Whereas Comas-Via explores the general acceptance of widowhood as a marginalized phase of life leading to poverty, Schmidt and Heijden present a more optimistic assessment of the ability of single laywomen, including widows, to survive outside of traditional social structures. In doing so, they present two ends of the spectrum of current scholarship on single women. See also, Julie Groot, Isabelle Devos, and Ariadne Schmidt, eds., *Single Life and the City 1200–1900: Men and Women Alone in North-Western European Towns since the Late Middle Ages* (London: 2015); Allyson M. Poska, "Gender, Property, and Retirement Strategies in Early Modern Northwestern Spain," *Journal of Family History* 25 (2000): 313–25.

10 For a study of how beguines used religious communities to create such family ties, see Kim Overlaet, "Replacing the Family? Beguinages in Early Modern Western European Cities: An Analysis of the Family Networks of Beguines Living in Mechelen (1532–1591)," *Continuity and Change* 29 (2014): 325–47.

11 On reactions to the transgressive nature of the marriage of former monastics, see Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, "'Nothing More than Common Whores and Knaves': Married Monks and Nuns in the Early German Reformation," in *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. David M. Luebke and Mary Lindemann (Oxford: 2014), 45–62.

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work to support themselves. In this they were not unique.[12] Those former nuns who married often faced acute financial need as they experienced ill-health and personal losses in middle age just as their children needed financial assistance in their own marriages, education, and occupational pursuits. As the many petitions to the elector, his sequestrators, and other officials in Ernestine Saxony during the 1520s through the 1560s indicate, former nuns experienced significant, ongoing financial hardship and personal physical and spiritual suffering as they aged inside and outside of the convent. Although the sequestrators offered all the women—current or former nuns—funds to meet their basic physical needs, evangelical rulers did not provide funds to alleviate the spiritual suffering of the nuns desiring a traditional devotional life by remaining in the convent.

1 Closing the Convents, Contesting Convent Goods: The Background of Sequestration

The question of what rights secular authorities had over convent properties under their jurisdiction quickly became an empire-wide problem in the 1520s after many secular authorities simply confiscated land and goods after formally avowing adherence to the reform movement.[13] In 1526, for instance, the Nuremberg city council reported to Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg-Ansbach that they had provided for the majority of nuns using dowries and pensions when they closed the convents, leaving no further barrier to transferring the remaining money to the "honest poor."[14] This principle that a convent and its property belonged to the secular authorities where the convent was located remained controversial.

Although scholars have discussed the formal legal disputes and emerging regulations surrounding the secularization of convent property, few have considered the practical financial implications for the nuns staying or leaving

12 Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen, Meerkerk van Nederveen, Elise Lex Heerma van Voss, "Provisions for the Elderly in North-Western Europe: An International Comparison of Almshouses, Sixteenth–Twentieth Centuries," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 62 (2014): 1–16.

13 See, for instance, Manfred Sitzmann, *Mönchtum und Reformation: Zur Geschichte monastischer Institutionen in protestantischen Territorien* (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: 1999), 47–52; Ulrich Stöhr, *Die Verwendung des "Kleine" Kirchengut in der landgrafshaft Hessen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Kassel: 1996), esp. 53–56. See also Eike Wolgast, *Die Einführung der Reformation und das Schicksal der Klöster im Reich und in Europa* (Gütersloh: 2014).

14 Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Rep. 61a/b Briefbücher, Nr. 92, 10v–11r (31 January 1526).

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these properties. In Ernestine Saxony, one of the earliest locations from which nuns left convents in large numbers after Luther called for the end of monastic life in 1521, no formal process existed to deal with either the convent's or individual nun's property for almost a decade. Although Elector John briefly discussed closing abandoned convents and monasteries in 1525, he did not follow through on implementing this as a policy.[15] Instead the elector, his officials, and convent visitors considered individual requests from former nuns for formal restitution of the property and funds they had brought with them into the cloister on an ad hoc basis. Most nuns received their portion of family resources in lump sum and annuity payments to pay for their nun's dowry and lifelong allowances when they professed.[16] To document this formal transfer of rights of property to the convent, many families and their daughters signed formal, notarized contracts with the abbess and congregation of nuns upon a women's entry into the convent. These contracts outlined what the nun and, more specifically, the convent was to receive and when; some nuns also renounced any additional claims to subsequent family inheritance in the process.[17] The women had few financial resources beyond these payments, which often left them unable to leave the convent. In response, the elector used funds from other sources to aid these women, a process often hampered by a shortage of funds.

Unable to seize convents outright, secular rulers sought ways to transfer economic control over the convent finances into their own hands. To prevent additional funds from supporting the continuing function of the convent, they requested that abbesses and nuns voluntarily turn over control of that money to them. This approach faced limited success when abbesses refused to relinquish convent funds.[18] Using courts if necessary, abbesses and nuns remaining

15 Wolgast, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, 32.

16 For a discussion of the property and money transferred to convents for nuns, see Elizabeth A. Lehfehlt, "Convents as Litigants: Dowry and Inheritance Disputes in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Social History* 33 (2000): 645–64.

17 For a few examples of such contracts around Germany, see, Diözesanarchiv Osnabrück, BAOS U1 (1 May 1487); Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, 35, Nr. 65 (23 July 1490); Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 23, U 27 (11 September 1510); Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 112, U 52 (21 January 1537); Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Kloster Himmelspforten Würzburg Urkunden 544 (16 April 1616). For a contract allowing a woman to enter a convent without any resources, see Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hohenlohe-Zentralarchiv Neuenstein, GA 5 Schubl. XXXV Nr. 19 (1510).

18 See Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, "*Persona non grata*: Former Nuns, Property Disputes, and the Female Defense of Marriage in the German Reformation," in *Politics, Gender and Belief: The Long-Term Impact of the Reformation: Essays in Memory of Robert M. Kingdon*,

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in the convent challenged any calls from secular rulers asking them to release convent funds or to abstain from using any funds, such as inheritances, promised to a convent. In 1532, for instance, Elector John requested that Margarethe von Haubitz, abbess of Nimbschen, formally relinquish her portion of her late brother Asmus von Haubitz's inheritance to her sister Euphemia von Bünau and her heirs rather than put the money into the convent.[19] Having already asserted her continued fiscal control over the convent in other property issues, Haubitz refused to comply with his command, and sought outside legal advice.[20] A lawyer from Albertine Saxony advised her that imperial law protected any rights she had not renounced and encouraged her to continue to resist giving up the property because this request "brought to light" the intention of the elector to attack monastic life through its goods.[21] Whether or not a nun chose to leave, abbesses, convents, and some family members proved more than willing to use courts to protect the convent's rights to any property nuns had brought with them when they professed.[22]

Even if local authorities successfully closed convents and received the convent as a donation, this transfer did not mean that the convent property generated the expected funds needed for former nuns. Those who had gifted property and endowed chapels and devotional objects sometimes expressed interest in having what they considered their property returned when convents ceased to function as religious houses. In 1534, Burgrave Sigismund of Kirchberg wrote to the Saxon visitors to remind them that his family had founded the convent of Kapellendorf and that he wished that the gifts they had given the convent to be returned now that "the singing and reading" was silenced.[23] In addition, not everyone was willing to uphold their financial obligation to desacralized convent property. In 1527, for instance, the Rothenburg city council pursued a case before the Imperial Chamber Court using the power over the convent signed

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eds. Amy Burnett, Kathleen Comerford, and Karin Maag (Geneva: 2014), 209–36, esp. 216–19.

19 For a fuller discussion of the conflict over the property, see C. Jahnel, "Die von Bünau auf Blankenstein," *Mitteilungen des Nordböhmischen Exkursions-Klubs* 31 (1908): 177–202, here 180–81.

20 For a discussion of Margarethe von Haubitz's relationship with the Sequestrators, see Anne-Katrin Köhler, *Geschichte des Klosters Nimbschen: Von der Gründung 1243 bis zu seinem Ende 1536/1542* (Leipzig: 2003), 125–26.

21 Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10024 Geheimer Rat, Loc. 8959/14, 6r–8v (1 August 1532).

22 See Plummer, "*Persona non grata*," 209–36.

23 Heinrich Friedrich Avemann, *Vollständige Beschreibung des uralten und weitberühmten Hochgräfl. Geschlechts der HERRN Reichsgraf und Burggrafen von Kirchberg in Thüringen: Anhang der Diplomatum, Urkunden, Briefe u. d. gl.* (Frankfurt: 1747), 138–39, no. 138 (20 June 1534).

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over to them by Katharina Euler, the previous prioress of the Franciscan convent. They accused Ludwig von Hutton of failing to provide his usual allotment of grain harvest from land overseen by the convent. Hutton responded that the city had no right to that payment since not only had the city been involved on the side of the peasants during the Peasants' War, but all the nuns had left the convent and married. Once this had happened, he argued, his previous promises to the convent were no longer valid.[24] These cases limited secular authorities from de facto control over convent property without permission of all the claimants.

As the families of former nuns faced the sudden, unexpected burden of an additional demand for funds beyond that already promised to the convent, the financial implications of the reform of monasticism became all too clear to them. Many former nuns found their families unwilling or unable to help them set up a new secular life or to support a marriage. The financial challenges for families had long been part of the conversation of reformers who sought to convince them that they had moral and financial responsibilities towards their daughters. In 1528, Landgrave Philip of Hesse criticized parents who put children in the cloister "because they could not feed them all."[25] Secular leaders and theologians also encouraged these families to accept financial responsibility for former nuns, yet such efforts at convincing families of their spiritual and financial responsibility to support their female relatives had minimal impact.

Many families, even those supporting reform, had an interest in convents remaining open for reasons ranging from concern about inheritance and family honor to concern about the well-being of their female relatives. Most, however, cited insufficient financial resources. In 1529, for instance, Magdalena and Anna von Steinsdorff, nuns in the convent of Frankenhausen-Crimmitschau, appealed to their brothers to help free them from their "dangerous prison" of the convent.[26] After asserting that they understood the "holy true word of God," Jobst and Wolf von Steinsdorff assured Elector John of Saxony that they were sympathetic to their sisters' precarious financial situation, but explained that they just did not have the money to support them.[27] Even as officials

24 Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Reichskammergerichtsakten, Nr. 11033 (1527).

25 Landgrave Philip of Hessen, *Was der Durchleutig hoch geporn Fürst vnnd Herr, Herr Philips, Landgraffe zu Hessen … als eyn Christlicher Fürst mit den Closterpersonen, Pfarrherren, und Abgöttischen Bildnussen, in seyner gnaden Fürstenthumbe, auß Göttlicher geschrifft fürgenummen hat* (Augsburg: 1528), A3r. See also Johannes Bugenhagen, *Was man vom Closter leben halten sol, am allermeist fur die Nonnen vnd Begynen geschrieben, aus der heiligen schrifft* (Wittenberg: 1529), B7r.

26 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 415, 1r–2v (24 May 1529).

27 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 415, 3r–4v (2 September 1529).

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reminded them of their duty as family to care for their sisters, the brothers steadfastly stated that they would only allow their sisters to come home if they received 100 gulden, a sum that John finally approved.[28] Such difficulties in gaining financial support from their family encouraged some nuns to petition city councils and territorial princes directly for a pension or severance pay before leaving their convent.

Unable to depend on families or direct access to convent property, some territorial rulers and civic magistrates proactively offered financial incentives such as a return of their convent dowry (*eingebrachte Gut*) and their personal protection to encourage women to leave the convent voluntarily.[29] Using their own financial resources, they offered a single defined payment (*Abfindung*) to nuns in return for the relinquishing of their financial claims on the convent over to the secular authority. Some rulers offered lump sum payments as an incentive to promote marriage for the nuns after their departure, giving the most assistance to those nuns with a definite plan to marry, even if the nuns entered the convent with little or no money.[30] In 1529, Elector John wrote to his magistrate in Weida, Anarg von Wildenfels, that he had found out that some nuns in Cronschwitz were inclined to marry, but hesitated to do so because their relatives threatened to withhold support. He asked Wildenfels to find out exactly which of the nuns were being harassed by their relatives because of their intention to marry and advise them that he intended to protect them.[31] All of these methods allowed evangelical authorities to take the place of reluctant relatives by providing the women with enough money to marry. In this way they simultaneously gained legal claims to convent property, even as they adhered (mostly) to imperial regulations. By guaranteeing that the women married, they also transferred long-term financial responsibility for the women's well-being to their husbands and communities.

In 1527, the landgrave of Hesse instituted a formal process of inventorying his territorial convents and monasteries and their inhabitants to figure out how much money the monks and nuns would agree to leave. In doing so, he provided a systematic model of sequestration, or redistribution of monastic goods, for other regions after the closure of a convent and transfer of

28 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 415, 7r–8v (17 January 1530), 12r–v (26 January 1530).

29 See, for instance, Staatsarchiv des Kantons Thurgau, Thurgauische Klöster, Münsterlingen 1, Urkunden 10g (26 July 1524); Urkunden 10f (15 December 1524).

30 See, for instance, the elector's encouragement of marriage in the case of Elisabeth von Kitzscher to influence the other nuns, ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 619 (5 December 1532); ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 623 (1535); ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 888 (4 July 1533).

31 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 228 (26 July 1529).

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the desacralized property to secular authorities.[32] By 1530, financial administration of convent property consumed considerable time and resources in Ernestine Saxony as officials continued to receive petitions and requests for financial assistance from nuns seeking to leave, those needing to remain, and, over time, former nuns. In 1531 Elector John established his staged form of sequestration in Ernestine Saxony, beginning with an inventory of the property and including biannual considerations of claims from former monks and nuns from surviving convents.[33] His successor Elector John Frederick continued this administrative organization until 1543, a process soon mirrored in Albertine Saxony during the initial phases of monastic reform under Duke Henry after 1539.[34] One aspect of sequestration in Ernestine Saxony was the distribution of single payments to former and current nuns (and monks) to assist them in their new secular life, whether as dowry or to attain positions or allowances necessary to maintain them in the convent. Ostensibly, the sequestrators intended these payments to provide enough funds for the married former nun to be self-sufficient. This assumption misunderstood the situation the former nuns faced inside and outside the convent walls. Officials soon found themselves reacting to petitions from these women as they faced the financial implications of physical disability, poverty, and aging.

2 Caring for the Aging Nun

Many Saxon convents remained open with women living in or around the convent well into the 1530s, with at least nine convents still inhabited by nuns

32 Richard Cahill, "The Sequestration of the Hessian Monasteries," in *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-economic Impact of Religious Change*, ed. Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot: 1996), 73–91.

33 C. A. H. Burkhardt, *Ernestinische Landtagsakten*, vol. 1: *Die Landtage von 1487–1532* (Jena: 1902), 225–29.

34 For outlines of the process of setting up and administering the Sequestration in Saxony, see Uwe Schirmer, "Reformation und Staatsfinanzen: Vergleichende Anmerkungen zu Sequestration und Säkularisation im ernestinischen und albertinischen Sachsen (1523–1544)," in *Christlicher Glaube und weltliche Herrschaft: Zum Gedenken an Günther Wartenberg*, eds. Michael Beyer, Jonas Flöter, and Markus Hein (Leipzig: 2008), 179–92; Günther Wartenberg, "Der Umgang mit Klostergut im mitteldeutschen Raum im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Reform—Sequestration—Säkularisation: Die Niederlassungen der Augustiner-Chorherren im Zeitalter der Reformation und am Ende des Alten Reiches*, ed. Winifried Müller (Paring, 2005), 9–24; Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, 45–52; Alfred Hilpert, *Die Sequestration der geistlichen Guter in den kursachsischen Landkreisen Meissen, Vogtland u. Sachsen 1531 bis 1543: Studien zur Säkularisation* (Plauen: 1911), 1–41.

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after 1540. Although many monks and nuns had fled their houses when peasant mobs attacked over nineteen religious houses in Saxony during the 1524–25 rebellion, these attacks only led to the permanent closure of six convents in 1525.[35] The majority of nuns, even those supporting reforms, remained cautious about leaving, preferring to move to another convent if possible. In 1529, for instance, Martha Burghartz wrote to the elector that she had been a nun in the Cistercian convent of Kapellendorf for sixty-five years from her childhood through old age until its closure in 1527, when she moved to the Benedictine convent in Heusdorf with several other nuns. She explained her decision to remain a nun as motivated by being old and sick and that she had "no one to flee to" even as it saddened her that "all [her] friends" had left for the "secular life." The prior of Heusdorf and the local magistrate in Rossla confirmed her story and recommended that she be allowed to finish her life in the convent.[36]

The ambiguous legal status of former nuns in the Holy Roman Empire and the uncertain local reactions to convent departures led electoral officials to make a pragmatic decision to allow some nuns like Burghartz to remain in the convent. Without a potential husband or a welcoming family to assist them in a new secular life, many nuns refused the single payment offers to leave. By the 1530s, Saxon electors and their officials had assumed the unexpected role of caretakers to nuns and their convents, even for women who refused to adopt evangelical teachings. Their approach to administering convents certainly was not benign. After inventorying everything in the cloisters, church, grounds, and convent properties, the elector appointed a secular convent administrator to manage the collection, use, and distribution of convent funds, goods, and property.

This revised approach of allowing convents to remain open, even temporarily, became clear in the shifting policy of the electors. For the women remaining in the convents, their decisions to stay, regardless of why, also meant significant financial hardships as the convents emptied and external support for the convent disappeared. In 1523, for instance, the abbess and the few remaining nuns of the convent of Sitzenroda contacted officials from Ernestine Saxony to find out if it would be possible for them to sell some of their excess treasury so they could survive on their own. They also asked for assurances that they could remain in the convent during their old age and receive protection

35 The convents were Berka, Gotha (Heilige Kreuz), Jena (St. Michael), Kloster Naundorf, Oberweimar, and Petersberg (near Eisenberg).

36 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 222 (20 January 1529).

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from outside "ridicule and mockery." Elector Frederick's answer was ambiguous as to how much he would help or protect them, if at all.[37]

Within a few years, convent policy in Ernestine Saxony changed as imperial decisions secured the nuns' right to use of the convent property, but also as the genuine suffering of the women residing in surviving convents became obvious. In 1526, Elector John, for instance, wrote to Johann Donath, provost of Sitzenroda, to discuss the care of an elderly nun after the abbess asked that funds for a doctor or an apothecary be given to help her. After receiving confirmation that the woman was seriously ill, he directed Donarth to make sure that the appropriate medical care be provided.[38] While the elector remained unwilling to give aid without certainty of a genuine need, he did provide funds when the health of the nun suffered. By accepting a role as convent caretaker, the elector also accepted, however reluctantly, the financial responsibility for the well-being of the nuns residing within a convent's walls.

The women did seek the best deal that they could to maintain the monastic communal life they knew. In 1526, magistrate Hans Bohmer and convent guardian Balthasar Lusche simultaneously negotiated with two nuns still living in St. Nicholas in Eisenach about their inheritance, even as they sought to convince them to move to Gotha so the remaining nuns could be concentrated in fewer locations. Describing herself as "old and weak," Agnes Zweifel, who had entered the convent at seventeen and been a nun for forty-nine years, finally agreed to leave Eisenach only if she kept her previous annuity, received her convent dowry as a lump sum payment and was promised that the move to Gotha was permanent and that the convent would not close.[39] The same negotiations occurred when electoral officials allowed nuns to create informal households in their former convent. In 1527, for instance, an eighty-year-old nun, one of the three women wishing to stay in the convent of Weida, demanded that she be cared for in the convent and given a proper apartment and reception room.[40]

Such promises were not without their costs, most of which were supposed to be financed out of convent resources. Many of the convents suffered from reduced income due to the lack of new novices, confiscation or destruction of convent property, refusal of local tenants to pay tithes or other fees, and lack of gifts. By 1532, Andreas Olzan, the electoral official in charge of Weida,

37 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 1253, 1r–3v (26 May 1523).
38 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 1274 (3 August 1526).
39 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 1298 (2 May 1526); ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 199 (27 November 1532).
40 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 1463, 1r–4v (23 April 1527).

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complained that he was unable to fund the total amount of requests from her and the other nuns because of the diminished income from the convent and its fields, which had been devastated during the war. He gave up and challenged the elector to find someone else "who better understood these things than he did," to do the job of figuring out how to finance their care. He sent along a list of the convent's assets and expenses to emphasize that the convent did not possess the needed funds.[41]

Although the elector of Saxony granted most of the remaining nuns aid when they asked, he stated that he did so only when this was the right thing to do "in the eyes of God and the world" because they were old and sick and most were noble.[42] In 1527, the nuns of the Cistercian convent of Roda in Stadtroda complained to Hans von der Planitz, Erasmus von Haugwitz, and Philipp Melanchthon, visitors in the region, that they were not receiving sufficient food, drink, or clothing to survive. The visitors ordered the convent administrator to supply the women with these items because they were "elderly, spent people" (*alte verlebte Personen*), but to do so sparingly and give the rest to the poor.[43] In response to a similar complaint from nuns in Jena, the visitors sent a small sum and some wine because the women were "burdened with age."[44] While they granted provisions and administered to physical suffering, the visitors did not respond to complaints about spiritual suffering. Even as they fielded demands for provisions, the visitors ordered that evangelical pastors be sent to the convent of Eisenberg because the nuns did not have their own pastor and required that the women pay his salary out of the convent goods.[45] This shifting use of convent resources heightened the sense of loss of the devotional rituals and familiar communities for the nuns retaining traditional beliefs.

Although part of the skyrocketing costs in many convents resulted from declining income, most of the increased expenditures were associated with the advancing age of the nuns. In 1533, the two surviving Oberweimar nuns—Margarethe Eger and Kunigund Berlisdorf—living in Jena complained that they had been forced to enter the convent of Jena because of "need and great poverty," but that Melanchthon had promised them that they would be provided with clothing and all other necessities. They agreed that they had received as good food and drink as the other nuns, but that the convent administrator had not given them clothes because the other nuns obtained secular clothing

41 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo, pag. 792, Nr. 971 (23 September 1532).
42 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Aaa, Nr. 339 (1533).
43 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Ii, Nr. 198, 8r (13 August 1527).
44 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Ii, Nr. 198, 9r (13 August 1527).
45 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Ii, Nr. 198, 10v (13 August 1527).

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from their relatives. They requested additional funds so they could live out their "last days" well.[46] Their concern about clothing may have been due to the surviving nuns' unwillingness to set aside their traditional habits.

Rulers sought to secularize small convent congregations with continuing relocation and consolidation of convent congregations. Many of these displaced women were unable to form new emotional and spiritual communities with their fellow nuns. Without outside family support and younger nuns to help them, these women found the set allowances and provisions they had accepted in order to remain in the convent insufficient for their care as they grew older and frailer. In 1533, six "poor, old, and sick" nuns from Oberweimar who had moved to Jena in 1528 asked to return to their previous convent, where they hoped to receive the necessary care and provisions because they had some local ties.[47] While he did not agree to their return to their former convent, the elector contacted the local authorities in Jena asking them to make sure the "old, weak, and feeble monastics were provided with clothes, food, drink, wine, and other life necessities," a command he repeated to underscore that the women should not to suffer any "deprivation" of goods.[48] Such letters certainly hint that composite congregations housed together did not function cohesively and demonstrate how much nuns had previously depended on their local communities. The disjuncture evident between groups within some congregations often prevented local ties and exacerbated suffering and financial hardship.

Sometimes, however, the mixed congregations did come together over common adversity. In 1538, eight remaining nuns of Cronschwitz, some moved from other locations, agreed to an annuity for their upkeep, but asserted that the "poor, world-abandoned women" wished to remain in the convent for the rest of their lives.[49] Five years later in 1543, they and the former prioress explained that they had recently found a letter in their church explaining that they soon would be moved to another location where they would be provided with a 30 gulden annuity and better care. Begging to remain in Cronschwitz, they pleaded that they were too old to change their lives again and feared being taunted if they lived without protection or moved to another convent.[50] Elector John Frederick finally relented and "mercifully" allowed the women to remain in their rooms in the convent for the "remainder of their lives."[51]

46 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 1087, 5r–v (28 September 1532).
47 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 710, 2r (13 October 1533).
48 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 710, 4r–v (14 October 1533).
49 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 241, 1r–3r (7 June 1543).
50 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 241, 4r–5r, 14r–15r (7 June 1543).
51 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 241, 16r–17r (12 June 1543).

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Given the difficulties faced by nuns in convents after the 1520s, the decision to remain in the convent in Saxony was not taken lightly by many of the women regardless of religious leanings. Among the factors that the officials put into play in pushing the women to decide were financial incentives to leave and, conversely, the threat of reduced provisions such as grain and wood for any remaining nun. Officials also continually warned of changes in their housing, living arrangements, and devotional practices. As perhaps should not be a surprise, many nuns reacted to potential shifts in their daily life with fear, leading them to often futile attempts to improve their financial settlements. In addition, as time passed and the women aged, their situations made personal caretakers and medical aid necessary. In 1533, the eight remaining nuns of Creuzburg attempted to make sure that their maid got the same portions that they did in the hopes that she could stay and care for them. The sequestrators responded that the amount to be given twice a year only included the nuns.[52] The setting of annuities and the unwillingness of the sequestrators to add anything to the set amounts compounded problems over time as the physical conditions of not only nuns, but also their convents quickly deteriorated.

Over the course of the mid-sixteenth century, the physical buildings of convents crumbled around nuns at the same time that basic needs such as shoes and clothes became pressing for nuns as officials limited funds for the women. In 1536, the remaining nuns in Creuzburg complained about the disrepair of their convent, including the disintegrating wood floor. In addition, they described how they had not been given the funds to purchase sufficient clothing or wood for fires needed to survive in the drafty convent.[53] Some nuns remaining in convents even reminded the elector that they were coreligionists and had followed all regulations. In 1567, for instance, Elisabeth Breul wrote to explain that during the Peasants' War Elector John had allowed them to return to the convent and given them an annuity of money, grain, and firewood after she and her fellow nuns agreed to give up "papacy and accept the teaching of the pure Gospel." When all the other nuns died, she agreed to move into a small hut with provisions enough to live, but a recent provost had curtailed those provisions. In her request for its return, she reminded him that as ruler, he was protector of "the poor, widows, and orphans."[54]

Over time, some families became more sympathetic to the plight of their female relatives, especially older ones, as some convents became uninhabitable. In 1539, two older nuns, Margarethe von Volkstedt and Felicia von Lissen, who

52 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 142 (c. June 1533).
53 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 253, 1–2 (August 1536).
54 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 433 (24 March 1567).

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had remained in the convent of Heusdorf after its official closure in 1536, expressed interest in leaving, but only if they could remain together, a sign of the continuing importance of the emotional ties within the convent. Margarethe's brother, Jörg von Volkstedt, wrote to the elector that because he considered Felicia a relative, he wanted them to set up a household with him. The elector granted Volkstedt's request of an annuity since they "wanted to leave the ungodly life" in the convent and they had a relative willing to assist them.[55] He did not always grant such promises of ongoing annuities. In 1541, Christoph von Arnim and his three brothers gave their permission for their sister Katharina, a nun, to leave the convent of Plötzky and live with them. They asked repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, that she be granted the same annuity as "Mollendorf's sister," reminding the elector that Katharina had sworn her renunciation of the convent in return for an annual payment of 30 gulden for the remainder of her life.[56] The irregularity of promised payments certainly did not assist in convincing families to help their elderly relatives leave the convent to return home to die.

Although the policy of allowing convents to close through attrition and death emerged in part due to the impracticality and expense of fully supporting all the nuns independently outside of the convent, this situation did not mean that the women in the convent lived and worshipped as they had before or with the same control over their own finances. Some nuns, especially older nuns, simply refused to leave convents, while others found that life outside the convent was not what they had expected and asked to return to their former convents when their support systems outside proved inadequate or disappeared. The changing circumstances even for those remaining within the convent meant that aging nuns petitioned for every additional expense and provision beyond their contracted allowances. Their spiritual situations were complicated further when electoral officials attempted to use these requests to convince the women to leave or to accept Lutheran church ordinances. What the petitions also show is how much the disruption of convent congregations left the elderly nuns without the care and social support that the generational system in place in the convent had previously provided. It also shows that rulers used funding to pressure devotional compliance by offering nuns the choice of better physical conditions or continued adherence to convent life.

55 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 454 (20 August 1539).

56 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Aaa, Nr. 555 (19 December 1541); ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Aaa, Nr. 555 (1543).

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3 Suffering for Faith During Middle Age and Retirement

The financial situation was not much better over time for the women who left the convents whether they married or not. The "honest poor" mentioned above as a concern for the Nuremberg city council soon included former nuns and their families. Despite previously foreswearing all future claims on convent property upon receiving a lump sum severance after their departure, numerous former nuns fell into poverty as they experienced personal crises, health issues, and financial shortfalls. Unable to depend on family or community networks, many former nuns petitioned the elector for additional funds well after their departure from the convent. These petitions increased as the women entered middle age and experienced the arrival of numerous children, the need for funds to pay for the apprenticeships or education of children, the death or disability of a spouse, and personal illness. As they aged, their situations often became even more precarious. The vignettes given by former nuns of their lives after they left the convent given in petitions for aid always emphasized religious suffering due to their adherence to evangelical teachings, but those written later in life emphasized the sufferings brought on by personal tragedies, poor health, and social isolation.

Numerous nuns had entered the convent with little or no money and this presented a problem as they left the convent. Many to of these women petitioned for funds and explained their decision to leave and how they lived their lives before and after that moment. Those with a modest claim to compensation often went without if they left early in the reform process. For those who returned to their families, the death of relatives brought renewed financial need. In her 1534 appeal for help, Margarethe Gebenn explained that during the Peasants' War, her brother had retrieved her from St. Nicholas's convent in Eisenach. His recent death left her poor and sick without a support system. Knowing that her poverty was not enough to receive financial assistance, she explained that she accepted that her poverty and suffering was God's will. She concluded with a hope that the elector would have mercy on her.[57] Whether or not she married did not necessarily improve a former nun's financial situation and the death of a husband, sibling, or spouse could rapidly change her financial circumstances.

Former nuns did maintain some social and personal ties with their former convent congregation outside of the convent. In doing so, they supported one another when they could. One surprising aspect is that the women from the same convent congregation often assisted one another regardless of their

57 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 201 (2 March 1534).

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choices to stay or leave the convent. In 1532, for instance, all the surviving nuns from Ichtershausen asked for additional compensation above what they had received in 1525 now that some were "old, weak, and poor," while others were "married, and so burdened with children that they suffered need."[58] Applying as a congregation, they were able to move beyond the individual petitions as a way to make sure that all received needed care and financial assistance. The continuing social bonds between the former nuns from convent congregations also become evident as nuns petitioned for additional funds once their fellow nuns let them know what they had been given. In 1532, a group of former nuns from Creuzburg, older and unmarried, wrote to the elector asking that their annuity be amended to the amount given to the former nuns from Eisenach, which they had learned of by a "reliable report."[59] In 1545, Dorothea von Wolfersdorf, a nun from Cronschwitz, requested an additional two gulden in her annuity because another former nun, Regina von der Planitz, had been given this amount.[60] These women were able to cite exact amounts given to other former nuns from their own convents, and in some cases from other convents. It did not seem to matter if they were nuns who lived communally after the dissolution of their convent or independently in marriage.

Beginning in 1533, new convent regulations in Electoral Saxony outlined how nuns could leave the convent, even as the preamble emphasized that the departure should be for spiritual reasons. This increased attention on process altered how women presented their departures when appealing for aid. Rather than highlighting their early adoption of the reform movement, most nuns after 1533 explained their decision to leave the convent as motivated by a gradual shift in understanding of how monastic life hindered salvation and how they consulted with the abbess, convent clergy or visitors, and electoral officials before their decision to leave.[61] Most of the initial petitions in the 1530s emphasized the spiritual decision to leave the convent and to marry.

58 Wilhelm Rein, *Kloster Ichtershausen: Urkundenbuch, Geschichte, und bauliche Beschreibung* (Weimar: 1863), 188–89 (4 December 1532). For a follow-up to this request, see ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 463 (20 March 1533).

59 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 141b (1532).

60 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 243 (3 May 1545).

61 See, for instance, ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Ii, Nr. 9, 96r–97v (Saalburg, 11 September 1533); ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Ii, Nr. 7, 203v–205v (Cronschwitz, 26 September 1533); ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Ii, Nr. 6, 10v–13v (Remse, 30 November 1533); 160r–162v (Nimbschen, 6 March 1534); 40v–43r (Altenburg, 22 April 1534). For a fuller discussion of this development, see Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, "Making Choices: Nuns and Decision-Making During the Early Reformation in Saxony, 1521–1560," in *Über Religion entscheiden: Religiöse Optionen und Alternativen in der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Christenheit*, eds. Matthias Pohlig and Sita Steckel (Tübingen: forthcoming).

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As they aged, however, many women added additional discussion of the trials and tribulations outside of the convent and the suffering they endured in service and as wives and mothers. In 1543, for instance, Afra von Obernitz, a former nun of Holy Cross in Saalburg, stated that she had been a child, barely seven years old, when placed in the convent where she was raised for 18 years with a reputation as a "spiritual nun." She described her suffering as she came to understand that convent life was "damned" and "irksome" by reading scripture and listening to the sermons of the convent preacher. At the urging of her brother, she sought the permission of the local ruler and her abbess to leave the convent around 1528. Once out, she served as a maid for fifteen years, but her brother and sister were not able to support her as she got older. Only then did she request the same amount given to the nuns still living in the convent.[62] This shift in the language of the petitions is particularly striking in the later petitions from married former nuns. In 1546, Ursula (von Döhlen) Töpper described how she had been forced "into the damned monasticism" as a child and lived a difficult life in Cronschwitz until her decision to marry a nobleman, Melchior Töpper zu Schönbach, twelve years earlier. She described the challenges and "burdens" of her marriage, including her husband's illnesses and their many small children, which left them poor as they used up his wealth.[63] Both women used evangelical polemic, sermons, and church orders circulating in the 1520s and 1530s to describe their pre-and post-convent lives and described the expected process of departure. Their emphasis on the suffering in their post-convent lives, however, was new, perhaps a product of the new emphasis on suffering.[64]

Similar statements found in other petitions demonstrate that the nuns, at least by the time they were appealing for pensions and additional aid, described their post-convent lives based on an acceptance of these emotions. In the later documents, women went well beyond proving that they were confirmed Lutherans in their petitions. In 1533, for example, Christoph Goldacker zu Tennenberg wrote on behalf of Claus Werner, a burgher of Waltershausen, and his wife, Elisabeth Hoffmeister, a former lay sister in the convent of St. Nicholas in Eisenach. After explaining that his investigations had uncovered that Elisabeth had worked tirelessly while a nun almost to the point of physical detriment (*ihre leyb vhast ermattet soll*), he was careful to indicate that this was not why she left. He recounted how she had learned from the Word of God the dangers that the cloistered life presented to her soul and for "this

62 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 1283 (15 September 1543).
63 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 233 (7 May 1546).
64 Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling*, 63–99.

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and many other Christian reasons" chose to leave the convent and marry. He described her many health problems that stemmed from the hard life in the convent. He then explained that the couple also had a large number of small children, with expectations of more to come. As a result of this abundance of children, they suffered from severe poverty despite hard work, Christian virtue, and honor. He therefore recommended the couple be given a decent sum to help them, which the Waltershausen city council seconded.[65] The combined suffering brought about by physical disability, age, and numerous children certainly did catch the attention of electoral officials in part because of its recourse to a common devotional language.

Older nuns had difficulty finding marriage partners, but also encountered a limited work life and lack of resources and family necessary for their care in old age. In 1538, Margarethe Helwig, a former lay sister in the convent of Nimbschen, wrote to the elector to explain that she had worked hard in the convent kitchen and barn for many years before her departure in 1523, and had sought to work since her departure. Now that she was old and weak, she had "no one" to help her. The elector received a report from Gangolf von Heiligen that Helwig had unrelentingly "worked hard with diligence, without idleness, and with great loyalty" during her over ten years of service in the convent and had been just as honorable and hardworking in her time since then. The elector recommended giving her an annuity of grain, although she had brought nothing to the convent.[66] In her 1546 petition for an annuity in addition to her original severance payment, Barbara Röder, a former nun from Lausnitz, described how her father had abandoned her at the convent when she was a child "who knew nothing of the world." She remained there for fifteen years with a reputation as a "chaste, obedient nun," until she learned of God's word and realized that "her monastic life was not beneficial for her salvation." She decided to leave the "corrupted life in the convent" in 1525 during the Peasants' War with the permission of the elector, and to give herself over to the rule of Christ. Because her family refused to give her a dowry since the convent had hers, she served as a maid for her parents, and was treated like a "Cinderella" (*Ascherbruedell*) by her sisters, a situation that became intolerable when her father died. Several years after her father's death she entered a "Christian marriage" with a poor citizen of Weida, but with no dowry.[67] Describing their lives as nuns and laywomen, Helwig and Röder showed how they exemplified the

65 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 203 (8 June, 13 July 1533).

66 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Oo pag. 792, Nr. 627 (24 February 1538).

67 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 771, 1r–2r (1 January 1546); 3r (5 February 1546); 4v–5r (23 March 1546).

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attributes of the "honest poor" and so were given financial assistance that would have been unavailable to them otherwise.

In later appeals many former nuns, especially those who ended up in domestic service, noted that they could no longer work, in part because life in the convent had had a lasting physical impact on them and they had suffered outside of the convent as well. Without children, family support, or property, they had little to fall back on in their later years. In 1552, Anna Guldemundt, a former nun in Heusdorf, wrote from Weimar after the death of her husband to request an increase in her annuity to the level of the other nuns, noting she now suffered from several physical problems and had no wealth of her own.[68] In 1553, she thanked the elector for the five Gulden awarded her, but reminded him that she was "a poor, old, and weak woman" and couldn't survive on that. After stating that she had spent "the prime of her life" in the convent and had brought in more than she had received when she left, she noted that if she had remained in Heusdorf, she would have been cared for during her old age. She then explained that she had chosen instead to enter marriage, citing the Gospel of the wedding of Cana as a reason, and asked for more assistance.[69] Her statement made clear that her earlier decision to leave the convent and to marry should be taken into consideration in assessing her annuity in comparison to the nuns who did not leave. Elector John Frederick responded by doubling her annuity to ten gulden and increasing her grain allowance.[70]

For many of these nuns, their early entry and long career as nuns made their transition to life outside of the convent difficult as they grew older. In all of these petitions the emphasis on youth, permission, and marriage justified requests for additional funds but, unlike earlier petitions, later in life the women sought to demonstrate that their earlier choice to leave the convent had been followed by a Christian life, even in the face of suffering, following their departure from the convent. In doing so they emphasized that they had truly come to live the spiritual life that had not existed within the convent, even as they had lived there virtuously as well.

4 Conclusion

By the time that Martin Luther wrote his will in 1542, he was well aware of the problems facing former nuns. He attempted to prevent his wife from experiencing the same hardships as those women petitioning the elector for

68 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 650, 2r–v (26 November 1552).
69 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 650, 3r–4r (4 March 1553).
70 ThHStAW, EGA, Reg. Kk, Nr. 650, 6r (28 December 1553).

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assistance. Even with his attempts to secure an income for his wife after his death, Bora like many of her fellow former nuns faced personal hardship and economic difficulty throughout her life. Even as the reform movement stabilized, the financial challenges faced by nuns and former nuns increased as they aged. To improve circumstances for themselves, their families, and sometimes fellow nuns, former nuns sought access to their convent dowry or additional pension funds while resident nuns in convents sought basic maintenance allowances from their families, former convents or local communities. In many cases, assistance from these traditional sources proved elusive and irregular. More profoundly, however, because the process of laicization for former nuns remained contentious even within Protestant areas, most nuns faced additional barriers to social integration in their secular communities. This reaction had an impact on the financial situation of nuns remaining inside convents as well as former nuns seeking laicization.

Few of these women were prepared for the potential poverty they faced without the support system of the convent, nor were reform leaders fully cognizant of what impact calling for the closure of convents would have on the women living in those convents. The former nuns experienced the precarious financial situation many secular women faced as they aged, but without the support system provided by their community. The result was the need to establish a new system of health care and retirement funds for these women, a process that only happened on an ad hoc and limited basis for Bora and her fellow former nuns in Electoral Saxony. The result for many was poverty, significant suffering, and constant worry. How different their lot was from women who never entered convents or for pastors' wives remains to be seen. What is clear is that leaving or staying in the convent did not ultimately make a difference regarding the financial hardship faced by aging former nuns, although the source of those difficulties did differ. Whether their actual lives fit the model of the norm of the poor widow or the more optimistic model of a strategy to live single, the nuns and former nuns of Saxony understood that suffering—physical or spiritual—was a valuable argument to gain the means to survive.

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PART 2

Devotional Ritual and Popular Religion

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CHAPTER 5

Streitkultur Meets the Culture of Persuasion: The Flensburg Disputation of 1529

Amy Nelson Burnett

In April 1529 a public disputation was held in Flensburg, located in the duchy of Schleswig near the Danish border, that pitted the furrier and lay preacher Melchior Hoffman against the Lutheran clergy of the region. Because of Hoffman's later career as an Anabaptist leader, it might be thought that the disputation concerned the issue of infant baptism, but in fact the disputation centered on the substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. Held six months before the more famous Marburg colloquy between Martin Luther and the Swiss reformers, the Flensburg disputation was the first public disputation devoted specifically to the Lord's Supper.

Susan Karant-Nunn was one of the first historians to consider the Protestant Lord's Supper from the perspective of social and cultural history rather than theology. In *The Reformation of Ritual* she asked how the average parishioner understood the reformers' modifications to or replacement of the Mass, and she cited several incidents that suggested discrepancies between what Luther taught and how Lutheran laypeople understood the communion service.[1] Disagreement among the reformers about what—if anything—happened to the bread and wine in the sacrament complicated their task of instructing the laity about the sacrament. It was one thing for a pastor to present the "correct" understanding of the Lord's Supper in his sermons; it was quite another when the laity could attend or read about a disputation in which competing views of the sacrament were presented. In these cases, speakers and writers had to employ various argumentative and rhetorical strategies to ensure that their hearers and readers adopted the "correct" position. This was a particularly urgent issue in the 1520s, when public disputations played an important role in the dissemination of evangelical teachings.

Public disputations furthered the reformatory movement in two ways. They had an immediate and direct impact on the progress of the movement at the local level, since they were held before a large audience composed of

1 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (New York: 1997), 107–37.

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magistrates, clergy, and laity. Through the printing of official acts and unofficial accounts, disputations also played a more gradual and indirect role in the spread and impact of evangelical ideas. The disputations contributed to what Irene Dingel has called a *Streitkultur* or "culture of controversy" that marked the Reformation.[2] Looking more broadly at the forms of communication employed by reformers and their opponents, whether preaching, print, song, or theater, Andrew Pettegree has written of a "culture of persuasion."[3] These two characterizations focus on different features of Reformation era religious debate. Like the proverbial carrot and stick, they refer to complementary and paired tactics that had as their goal the victory of the party using them. Controversy, or the use of argumentation to determine and uphold truth, was an integral element of Reformation debate, whether between Protestants and Catholics or among various Protestant groups. It suggests that both parties were arguing for their own position, and one of their goals was the formation of group identity and the elimination of dissent. This was certainly the case for both sponsors of and participants in the religious disputations of the 1520s. Persuasion is concerned primarily with the means and methods used to gain adherents to one's position, and suggests that members of the intended audience were willing to change their minds. This aspect emerges most clearly in the published accounts of the disputation. The two characterizations are therefore complementary, just as dialectic or logical argumentation to establish truth is complemented by rhetoric, the art of persuasion.

The public disputations and their published accounts also tell us something about the reception and further transmission of evangelical teachings. Although both Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli each participated in public disputations that were well publicized and extremely important for spreading their views, most of the disputations from the 1520s involved local clergy, both proponents and opponents of the new doctrines. The theses proposed for debate and the arguments made for and against those positions reveal how these locally prominent figures understood and appropriated the ideas of the major reformers. The published accounts of the Flensburg disputation not only illustrate the interplay between argumentation and persuasion in the shaping of public opinion but also show how both parties to the disputation responded

2 Irene Dingel, "Streitkultur und Kontroversschrifttum im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Versuch einer methodischen Standortbestimmung," in *Kommunikation und Transfer im Christentum der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Irene Dingel and Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele (Mainz: 2007), 95–111; Irene Dingel, "The Culture of Conflict in the Controversies Leading to the Formula of Concord (1548–1580)," in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb (Leiden: 2008), 15–64.

3 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: 2005).

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to the larger intra-Protestant debate concerning the Lord's Supper, and they served to disseminate the arguments of the two sides.

1 Early Reformation Disputations

The religious disputation was a central feature of the early Reformation.[4] The Leipzig Disputation held in the summer of 1519 pitted Johannes Eck against Andreas Karlstadt and Martin Luther to debate the Wittenberg theology of sin and grace. That disputation led to an intensification of the religious controversy and the wider diffusion of Luther's ideas. In January 1523 the Zurich city council sponsored a public debate between its preachers and representatives of the bishop of Constance that was then used to justify the preaching of the evangelical gospel. The Zurich disputation initiated a series of similar disputations held through the second half of the 1520s and early 1530s in locations from Breslau to Bern.[5]

The Reformation disputation was a new form of communicating ideas that had roots in the medieval university. A regular part of academic instruction through the Middle Ages, the disputation was transformed in the early 1520s into a public event held in the vernacular before a large audience. Unlike their medieval predecessors, these disputations were sponsored by the political authorities who determined the victor, and they had legal consequences, usually the adoption of evangelical reforms, for the city or territory in which they were held. While medieval academic disputations relied on syllogistic reasoning and the rules of argumentation to determine the truth of a set of theses, the disputations of the Reformation introduced Scripture as the norm by which theses were to be judged and truth established. This principle created an insurmountable barrier for disputations that involved Catholics, who recognized the authority of the Roman church along with that of Scripture. Debates between Catholics and Protestants were therefore largely set-pieces that favored the Protestants.[6] The exception that proved the rule was the Baden Disputation,

4 On the difficulties of terminology and for a broad overview, see Irene Dingel, "Religionsgespräche IV," in *Theologische Realenzyklopedie*, eds. Horst Robert Balz et al., 38 vols. (Berlin: 1977–2007), vol. 29, 654–81.

5 A description of the many planned and actual disputations in Bernd Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen: Studien zur Kirchengründung in den Städten der frühen Reformation*, second ed. (Göttingen: 2011), 55–176.

6 Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen*, 34–53, 177–86.

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which was dominated by the Catholic members of the Swiss Confederation and therefore resulted in a decision in favor of the Catholic party.[7]

Because the early reformation disputations were held in the vernacular, they reached a much broader audience than their medieval predecessors. Publication of accounts of a disputation, whether the official protocol or unofficial descriptions of the debate, extended that audience even further. The disputations could be a two-edged sword, for in them the arguments both for and against the position of the dominant party were aired. There was no guarantee that bystanders or readers would endorse the "correct" view, and they might instead be persuaded to accept the "wrong" position. The authors or editors of disputation proceedings therefore presented their accounts within an interpretive framework intended to win readers to their side. While the disputation itself aimed to establish truth in accordance with Scripture, the publications were meant to persuade readers and hearers to accept their author's position, which might not be that of the disputation's sponsor, presiding officials, or official protocol. In fact, the aftermath of the disputation could be as important as the disputation itself for influencing public opinion either in favor of or against the ideas being debated. At least eighteen different pamphlets, for example, were published in the wake of the 1519 Leipzig Disputation that gave widely differing interpretations to the debate.[8] The disputations held in Zurich, Baden, and Bern also generated publications by both parties that were intended to shape public opinion both before and after the debates. Although the vast majority of reformation pamphlets favored the evangelical party, the pamphlets related to the major disputations held in the Swiss Confederation, like those for the Leipzig Disputation, were split fairly evenly between the two sides.[9]

In addition to the public disputations between Catholics and evangelicals, there were also a few intra-evangelical disputations held during the later 1520s. These differed in two ways from the Catholic-Protestant disputations held during these same years. First, their primary purpose was to deal with

7 Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen*, 104–13.

8 Christoph Volkmar, "Von der Wahrnehmung des Neuen: Die Leipziger Disputation in den Augen der Zeitgenossen," in *Die Leipziger Disputation 1519: 1. Leipziger Arbeitsgespräch zur Reformation*, eds. Markus Hein and Armin Kohnle (Leipzig: 2011), 131–42.

9 On some of the publications related to the Baden and Bern Disputations, Alfred Schindler and Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, eds., *Die Badener Disputation von 1526: Kommentierte Edition des Protokolls* (Zurich: 2015), 34–37, 167–9; Irena Backus, *The Disputations of Baden, 1526 and Berne, 1528: Neutralizing the Early Church* (Princeton: 1993), 1–17, 71–78; Walther Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihre Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen* (Gütersloh: 1924–53), vol. 1, 601–608.

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internal dissent by defining the boundaries of evangelical orthodoxy. Mutual compromise was not a genuine option, for although all evangelicals accepted the ultimate authority of Scripture as the norm, both parties were sure their own interpretation of Scripture was the correct one. There was usually a significant power disparity between the two sides, however, and the disputations were intended to uphold the theological position of the dominant party. The disputation was staged either to bring about the reconciliation of dissenters or to justify their expulsion for refusing to conform. Central to these early intra-Protestant disputations were differences in sacramental theology, such as the practice of infant baptism and the content and purpose of the Lord's Supper.

Second, in order to prevent the growth of dissent, most intra-evangelical disputations were held before a restricted audience and their acts were not widely disseminated. The Second Zurich Disputation of October 1523 was open to the public and its proceedings were published, but it was the rare case in which both sides agreed, at least for the time being, to accept the Zurich council's authority to introduce reforms. In contrast, few records survive concerning the series of discussions and disputations held over the course of 1525 between leaders of Zurich's church and those who rejected infant baptism.[10] A private disputation was held in the summer of 1525 between a few Anabaptists and the leaders of Basel's evangelical movement; this disputation is known only through the account published by the city's reformer, Johannes Oecolampadius.[11] Two years later, the Basel council sponsored a private disputation between the Anabaptist Karlin Brennwald and the leaders of both the evangelical and Catholic clergy in the city. Because the opening statements by Brennwald and the Catholic preacher Augustinus Marius took so long, there was no time left for an actual disputation.[12] In the fall of 1524, Andreas Karlstadt requested that he be allowed to debate Luther publicly in order to defend his understanding of the Lord's Supper. His request was denied, and it

10 John Howard Yoder, *Anabaptism and Reformation in Switzerland: An Historical and Theological Analysis of the Dialogues between Anabaptists and Reformers* (Kitchener, Ont.: 2004), 26–54.

11 Johannes Oecolampadius, *Ein gesprech etlicher predicanten zu Basel gehalten mitt etlichen bekennern des widertouffs* (Basel: 1525); Andrea Strübind, "The Swiss Anabaptists," in *Companion to the Swiss Reformation*, eds. Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi (Leiden: 2016), 389–443, esp. 426–28.

12 See the account by Johannes Oecolampadius, *Vnderrichtung von dem Widertauff* (Basel: 1527), in Emil Dürr and Paul Roth, eds., *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534*, 6 vols. (Basel: 1921–1950), vol. 2, 547–79, nos. 676–77.

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would be another five years before a disputation was held in Flensburg to address the intra-evangelical disagreement over that sacrament.[13]

2 The Course and Arguments of the Flensburg Disputation

The Flensburg Disputation stands out from earlier intra-evangelical disputations for both its public nature and its content. Unlike the disputations with Anabaptists in Switzerland, the Flensburg Disputation was held before a large audience, and it responded to dissent that had emerged in Wittenberg rather than in Zurich. Although the understanding of the Lord's Supper divided the Wittenberg and Swiss reformers, the teachings being debated in Flensburg were those of Karlstadt rather than Zwingli.

The public nature of the Flensburg Disputation was due to Hoffman's rather unusual status as an itinerant preacher commissioned by King Frederick I of Denmark, who was also duke of both Schleswig and Holstein.[14] By granting Hoffman this license to preach, the king could allow the spread of evangelical ideas in his lands without overtly challenging the Catholic clergy and nobles who had placed him on the Danish throne. In 1527 Hoffman moved to Kiel, where he set up a press in his home to print his own pamphlets. Over the next two years he proceeded to alienate the local clergy and lose the favor of the Wittenberg reformers. Hoffman was neither an ordained priest nor a trained theologian, and his populist preaching encouraged anticlerical sentiment among his audience. He was also criticized for his apocalyptic sermons and his allegorical interpretations of Scripture. Over the course of 1527–28 Hoffman

13 The presence of Christ's body in the elements of the Lord's Supper would be debated by evangelical pastors at the Bern Disputation of January 1528. Their debate occurred within the context of the larger contest between Protestant and Catholic parties, however, and the Bern Disputation as a whole was more concerned with refuting Catholic teaching and practice than with addressing intra-evangelical disagreement. The Bern Disputation acts are printed as *Handlung oder Acta gehaltner Disputation zuo Bernn in Üechtland* (Zurich: 1528); Johann Georg Walch, ed., *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1881–1910), vol. 17, 1616–1933.

14 The disputation is known through the anonymous *Dialogus vnd gründtliche berichtung gehaltner disputation im land zu Hosten* (Strasbourg: 1529), attributed to Melchior Hoffman and Andreas Karlstadt and reprinted as "Dialog und gründlicher Bericht" in *Flugschriften vom Bauernkrieg zum Täuferreich (1526–1535)*, 2 vols., eds. Adolf Laube et al. (Berlin: 1992), vol. 1, 256–70. Also Johannes Bugenhagen, *Acta der Disputation zu Flensburg/ die sache des Hochwirdigen Sacraments betreffend/ im 1529. Jar* (Wittenberg: 1529), partial edition as "Akten der Disputation zu Flensburg" in Laube, *Flugschriften*, vol. 1, 277–99, with English translation of Bugenhagen's closing oration in Johannes Bugenhagen, *Selected Writings*, trans. Kurt K. Hendel (Minneapolis: 2015), vol. 1, 521–88.

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became involved in a pamphlet exchange with the Magdeburg reformer Nicolaus von Amsdorf. In 1525 Amsdorf had written two strongly polemical pamphlets against Wolfgang Cyclops, who was accused of rejecting Christ's corporeal presence in the bread. The fact that Amsdorf said nothing about the Lord's Supper in his pamphlets against Hoffman suggests that the latter was still considered orthodox on that point well into 1528.[15]

By the second half of that year, however, the Lord's Supper had become an issue in Holstein. Hoffman's understanding of the Lord's Supper was also linked with an attack on his clerical colleagues, for in his pamphlets he accused them of being false prophets because "they bound Christ to a particular site and place" when they said his body was in the bread.[16] In order to uphold the authority of the duchy's pastors, Hoffman had to be dealt with publicly. The king therefore called a disputation to be held in the former Franciscan convent in Flensburg, and he invited all the pastors of Schleswig and Holstein to attend.

The Flensburg Disputation was typical in that its participants relied chiefly on both logical argumentation and scriptural exegesis to uphold their own position. In the arguments used for and against Christ's bodily presence, each side also drew from the writings of the major contributors to the eucharistic controversy. The conflict was fought on two levels. The actual disputation took place between Hoffman and three Lutheran pastors: Hermann Tast from Husum in Schleswig, Stephen Kempe from Hamburg, and Nicolaus Boie from Dithmarschen.[17] At the end of the proceedings, the pastors questioned three other individuals—Johannes Campanus, Jakob Hegge (also called Jakob von Dantzka or Danzig), and Johannes Barse—concerning their beliefs about Christ's bodily presence, but the dissenters made no substantial contribution to the disputation.[18] On a deeper level, the disputation was a proxy for the larger conflict between Andreas Karlstadt and his former Wittenberg colleagues. In 1525 Karlstadt had promised that he would not teach or publish anything on the Lord's Supper as a condition for being allowed to return to Electoral Saxony. He did not change his position on the sacrament, however,

15 Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen: 1979), 84–109. On the debate between Amsdorf and Cyclops, see Amy Nelson Burnett, *Debating the Sacraments: Print and Authority in the Early Reformation* (New York: 2019), 95.

16 "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 278. Hoffman's accusation was an inversion of the Lutheran charge that the Swiss bound Christ's body to one place in heaven rather than recognizing that it could at the same time be at the right hand of the Father and present in the elements of the Lord's Supper.

17 "Dialog," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 261–62; Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 109–10.

18 "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 288–90; "Dialog," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 264–65.

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and his situation in Saxony became increasingly difficult. He must have had some contact with Hoffman, for in early 1529 he left Saxony without the elector's permission and joined Hoffman in Kiel. Hoffman requested that Karlstadt be granted safe conduct so that he could attend the Flensburg Disputation, but this request was denied.[19]

On the Wittenberg side, Duke Christian, Frederick's son and regent in Holstein, asked that Nicolaus von Amsdorf be sent from Magdeburg to attend the disputation. Amsdorf followed Luther's advice and did not go to Flensburg, but Johannes Bugenhagen came from Hamburg, where he was working to reform that city's church. Bugenhagen later emphasized that he was in Flensburg to serve only as an observer, but he also exercised enormous moral and theological authority. According to the anonymous report of the disputation, he was received "as if he were God, and they held his word as more and higher than God's Word, for nothing was of more account than Pomeranus [Bugenhagen] and his word; if the Holy Spirit himself had been there, he would have had to yield."[20] Bugenhagen shaped the disputation by opening it with his prayer that the duchy would not fall away from truth into error and closing it with an oration in which he refuted several of Hoffman's arguments.

The disputation was held on 8 April 1529, with Duke Christian presiding.[21] The proceedings were closer to a judicial interrogation than to a disputation in format. Rather than being based on a series of theses, the event was staged as a more general attack on Hoffman's views concerning the substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. Although at the time there was some question about Hoffman's teachings on baptism, the topic was specifically excluded from consideration at the disputation because he had not preached or published anything about that sacrament.[22] The arguments introduced by each side reveal the reception of the public debate over the Lord's Supper by secondary figures, whether through their reading of and reflection on the many publications or through personal interactions with Bugenhagen and Karlstadt.

Hoffman betrayed one of the most important influences on his thought when, on the eve of the disputation, he sent Duke Christian a pamphlet by Luther printed in 1523. Hoffman described the pamphlet as supporting his own position, for Luther "wrote clearly and simply that one received the

19 "Dialog," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 257.

20 "Dialog," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 257–58.

21 Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 109; Laube, *Flugschriften*, 268n9. Depperman gives the date as 9 April, but Laube corrects the date to 8 April.

22 Bugenhagen, *Acta*, L5v–L6v (not in Laube); Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 576.

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Lord's bread as a seal and sign in the bodily mouth and the word in the ears, and in the heart and conscience."[23] In his disputation with the Lutheran pastors, Hoffman would repeat this understanding of the elements as a seal and sign that accompanied God's word or promise.[24] He also cited the example of the rainbow given to Noah as a visible sign and seal of God's promise. To this he added the skin garments given to Adam and Eve on their expulsion from Eden, circumcision given to Abraham, and the Passover lamb: all of these were reminders of Christ and God's word or promise.[25]

The pamphlet Hoffman sent to the duke has usually been identified as Luther's *On the Misuse of the Mass*, originally published in 1522 and reprinted several times over the next two years. It is much more probable, however, that the pamphlet was a 1523 imprint of Luther's 1522 Maundy Thursday sermon, *The Central Article of the New Testament, on the Sacrament in Both Kinds*.[26] Luther began that sermon by stating that the sacrament consisted of two things, a promise and a sign, with the words entering the ears and the sign entering the mouth. The two functioned together, just as a seal attested to the contents of a letter. Those who wished to receive communion were to bring this word and faith with them; otherwise they received the sacrament to their harm.[27] Although it was particularly clear in Luther's 1522 sermon, this understanding of a sacrament as a promise and sign or seal was an important component of early Wittenberg theology as outlined by Luther in *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, by Philipp Melanchthon in his *Loci Communes*, and by Karlstadt in his eucharistic pamphlets from 1521. All three Wittenbergers also made the comparison between the miraculous signs of the Old Testament, such as Noah's rainbow and Gideon's fleece, with the signs given as seals of

23 "Dialog," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 258.

24 "Martin himself writes simply and clearly that Christ is the word that one must grasp through faith with the heart, and that the bread is eaten with the mouth as a seal." "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 286.

25 "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 280–81.

26 *Das Hauptstück des neuen Testaments von dem Sakrament beider Gestalt*, WA 10/3, LXXXVII–XCI, 68–71. Josef Benzing, ed., *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod* (Baden-Baden: 1966), nos. 1328–40, lists four imprints from 1522 and eight from 1523, including one in Low German; the pamphlet was also reprinted in 1525. See also Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 111; Heinrich Holze, "Eine lutherische Stimme im Streit um das Abendmahl? Melchior Hoffmann auf der Flensburger Disputation von 1529," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 99 (2001): 31–50.

27 WA 10/3, 68–69.

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God's promise of forgiveness that together comprised a sacrament.[28] In contrast, although Zwingli regarded the bread and wine as signs, he did not refer to them as seals, and by 1525 he had explicitly rejected the comparison of the sacraments with the miraculous signs of the Old Testament.[29]

Hoffman's Lutheran opponents made no attempt to engage with these elements of early Wittenberg theology. Indeed, they explicitly agreed with Hoffman that the entire power of the Supper lay in the words of promise and not in the sign. They argued, however, that this was not the issue under consideration. Instead, they opposed his claim that the signs were mere bread and wine. In his 1522 sermon, Luther stated almost in passing that Christ set forth his body and blood for us so that we would not fear sin, death, devil, and hell. In 1522 the presence of Christ's body and blood may have seemed so obvious to Luther that it did not need to be highlighted, but by 1529 Hoffman saw no reason to add Christ's physical body and blood to the signs. Instead, the bread and cup were Christ's body and blood "in figure, in signification, and sacramentally" (*figurlich, bedeütich, sacramentlich*).[30] Fixing on Hoffman's use of the word "in figure," his opponents accused him of saying that Christ's words were figurative. Hoffman responded that it was not the *words* that were figurative but instead the *bread* was a figure, and he asked the official recorders to look back through their notes to prove that he had never said that the words were figurative.[31] This did not satisfy Hoffman's opponents, who asked him point-blank whether he believed "this is my body" was to be understood "naturally or figuratively." Hoffman argued for a third option by acknowledging that "the words are crystal clear" (*hell und klar*), but they had to be "rightly understood." That "right understanding" meant interpreting them in accordance with John 6, where Christ taught that the bread he gave was himself.[32]

This disagreement over the understanding of "this is my body" suggests that the Lutheran pastors were associating Hoffman with Zwingli, who argued that "this is my body" should be understood as "this signifies my body." Rather than this "figurative" interpretation, however, Hoffman advocated a "figural" interpretation that was closer to that of Karlstadt. Instead of describing the bread as a sign, Karlstadt called it a figure of Christ's body given for the

28 Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (New York: 2011), 11–14, 21–3; Holze, "Eine lutherische Stimme," 42–45.

29 *Von der Taufe*, Z vol. 4, 227.

30 "Dialog," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 259–61; "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 280–81.

31 "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 281–83.

32 "Akten," in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 284, 286.

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forgiveness of sins.[33] With its explicit reference to John 6, Hoffman's position also resembled that of Kaspar Schwenckfeld and Valentin Krautwald, who argued that "this is my body" referred back to Christ's statement that "my flesh is food indeed" (John 6:55).[34]

The relevance of John 6 for the Lord's Supper was discussed more explicitly at Flensburg with regard to the question of whether unbelievers received Christ's body in communion.[35] Luther understood the eating described in John 6 to be faith pure and simple, and he said that the passage had no necessary relation to the sacrament. His opponents used John 6 in various ways to reject Christ's bodily presence. On the basis of John 6:63, Zwingli argued that since "the flesh was of no use," Christ's flesh and blood were not corporeally present in the sacrament. Karlstadt used John 6:51 to conclude that the sacramental bread could not be Christ's flesh, because the godless did not receive eternal life from it.[36] The Silesians used John 6 to highlight the spiritual communion of believers during the Lord's Supper, but they too argued that unbelievers did not eat Christ's body. Their emphasis on the positive spiritual value of communion for believers contrasted with Zwingli's early argument that the sacrament did not bestow anything on recipients but was only an external testimony of one's fellowship with Christ and other Christians. Schwenckfeld had presented his views to the Wittenberg reformers during a visit at the end of 1525, but the Wittenbergers did not directly address the *manducatio impii* in print until after the Silesian's treatises began to be published in 1527. Whether the impious received Christ's body became one of the questions discussed not only in Luther's *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* but at greater length in

33 Andreas Karlstadt, *Auszlegung dieser wort Christi* (Basel: 1524), a3r–b1r; translation in Amy Nelson Burnett, ed., *The Eucharistic Pamphlets of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Kirksville: 2011), 146–49. See also Burnett, *Karlstadt*, 61–64. Johannes Oecolampadius also interpreted Christ's words to mean "a figure of my body." Johannes Oecolampadius. *De Genvina Verborum domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta uetutissimos authores exposition, liber* (Strasbourg: 1525), B8r. Oecolampadius claimed that his interpretation did not differ from Zwingli's "this signifies my body," but by introducing the concept of a figure, both he and Karlstadt drew on the rich tradition of typological exegesis of the Old Testament that was not conveyed by Zwingli's "signifies."

34 Burnett, *Karlstadt*, 129–34.

35 On the varying interpretations of John 6, see Amy Nelson Burnett, "Hermeneutics and Exegesis in the Early Eucharistic Controversy," in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden: 2012), 85–105.

36 Karlstadt, *Auszlegung*, c4r–v; Burnett, *Pamphlets*, 156.

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Bugenhagen's *Public Confession Concerning the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood*, both published in 1528.[37]

The interpretation of John 6 and the *manducatio impii* came up at several points in the Flensburg disputation. Tast opened the disputation with a restatement of Luther's position: Christ called himself "bread," and the eating and drinking he spoke of in John 6 was "faith." Spiritual eating was always necessary, especially if one wished to receive the Lord's Supper worthily.[38] The spiritual eating of faith, however, was a separate issue that did not concern the question of Christ's bodily presence in the elements. For his part, Hoffman asserted that through faith in the word, believers ate Christ in the Lord's Supper, but unbelievers ate only the seals.[39] Bugenhagen raised the issue again in his closing oration, linking the spiritual eating of faith to worthy reception of the Supper.[40] When Hoffman interrupted him to argue that unbelievers could not eat Christ's body, Bugenhagen addressed the issue of unworthy reception at more length. He agreed that Turks, Jews, and mice did not eat Christ's body, since they did not believe Christ's word, but those who were unworthy disciples did indeed eat Christ's body, as was demonstrated by St. Paul's discussion of unworthy eating (1 Cor. 11:27–29).[41] Hoffman took Bugenhagen's concession concerning the "Turks and heathens" as tacit admission that Christ's body was not substantially in the bread, for if it were, even these groups would eat that body.[42]

The discussion of the *manducatio impii* shows that the central issue of the disputation was not a vaguely defined "real presence" of Christ but instead whether the bread and wine were substantially and corporeally Christ's body and blood.[43] Both sides agreed that believers received Christ through the Supper, but they disagreed over whether the bread was in some way actually Christ's body. Hoffman's position differed from that of Zwingli, who rejected the idea that the sacrament conveyed any spiritual benefit to recipients; only under the pressure of later concord efforts with Wittenberg did the Zurich

37 Luther, *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*, WA 26, 491; LW 37, 354; Bugenhagen, *Publica confession … qua suae fidei de coena Domini reddit rationem* (Wittenberg: 1528), I7v–O6r, an exposition of John 6 aimed at the Silesians.

38 "Akten," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 278–79.

39 "Akten," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 286.

40 *Acten*, D7r–D8v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 524–26.

41 *Acten*, J7r–K5v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 562–68.

42 "Dialog," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 163.

43 This observation distinguishes my interpretation from Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 113.

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reformer acknowledge that Christ was present to the mind of believers "by the contemplation of faith" (*contemplatione fide*).[44]

At Flensburg, however, Bugenhagen made no differentiation between Hoffman and Zwingli. In his closing oration the Wittenberger specifically rejected Zwingli's argument that "this is my body" should be understood in the same way as when someone pointed to an image of Caesar and said, "this is Caesar."[45] This analogy was not a comparison Hoffman had made, and in fact Zwingli had used it to illustrate the figurative understanding of "this is my body," an interpretation that Hoffman specifically rejected. Bugenhagen also argued that Christ's body and blood in the sacrament were "a sign of salvation to my faith," and not simply a sign whereby Christians recognized each other, "as some teach wrongly."[46] Again, Bugenhagen's criticism applied to Zwingli, who understood communion only as a public testimony of one's faith, rather than to Hoffman, who acknowledged that believers received Christ through the word of promise spoken in the sacrament. Finally, Bugenhagen condemned Hoffman's claim that "the bread was a bread of remembrance" and so could not be the body of Christ.[47] The public remembrance of Christ's death was a central motif in Zwingli's eucharistic thought, but on this issue Hoffman was probably more influenced by Karlstadt, who was concerned with individual rather than collective remembrance. The believer's heartfelt remembrance of Christ had the same function for Karlstadt as faith had for Luther, and it was the chief reason for receiving the sacrament.[48] Bugenhagen's concentration on Zwingli's arguments is all the more striking because as Karlstadt's former colleague he was certainly familiar with Karlstadt's arguments against Christ's bodily presence in the elements.

After Bugenhagen had finished his oration, both sides were given the opportunity to bring up any further articles, and then the disputation was formally closed. The next day Duke Christian summoned Hoffman and his three

44 W. Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: 1986), 250–51; Burnett, *Debating the Sacraments*, 304–305.

45 *Acten*, J3r; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 558. For Zwingli's introduction of the analogy of pointing to a statue of Cocles and saying, "this is Cocles," see Zwingli, *Ad Theobaldi Billicani Responsio*, Z vol. 4, 913; in *Amica Exegesis* he used the example of statues of Cocles and Chloelia and of Caesar, Z vol. 5, 736. For Bucer's use of the example of a statue of Caesar in his 1528 commentary on John, see Martin Bucer, *Enarratio in Evangelion Iohannis* (*1528, 1530, 1536*), in *Martini Buceri Opera Latina*, vol. 2, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: 1988), 267.

46 *Acten*, H4v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 552.

47 *Acten*, J2v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 558; cf. "Akten," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 282.

48 See especially his *Von dem widerchristlichen mißbrauch des herrn brodt und kelch* (Basel: 1524), with its lengthy discussion of remembrance, a3v–b2v; Burnett, *Eucharistic Pamphlets*, 208–12.

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associates and gave them one final chance to renounce their errors. Because they refused to do so, they were expelled from the duke's territories, signaling that only the Wittenberg understanding of the Lord's Supper would be taught there in the future.

3 The Published Accounts of the Disputation

The expulsion of Hoffman and his supporters may have eliminated the problem of dissent within Schleswig and Holstein, but it did not end the debate over the Lord's Supper. The Flensburg Disputation would have a larger impact on the eucharistic controversy through the two contrasting accounts of the event that were published in the summer and fall of 1529. These pamphlets illustrate how the focus of the debate shifted from argumentation to persuasion as both sides tried to win the support of a broader readership. Since both pamphlets purported to be accounts of the disputation, they shared an argumentative core. Despite differences of perspective and degree of detail, they present a fairly similar account of the disputation itself, but each author surrounded that core with material intended to persuade readers to adopt his position, and each used exaggeration and mockery to weaken his opponent's arguments and strengthen his own case.

The first published report of the disputation was the anonymous *Dialogue and Thorough Report of the Disputation in Holstein on the Lord's Supper*.[49] The pamphlet was probably written jointly by Hoffman and Karlstadt, and Hoffman had it printed in Strasbourg soon after his arrival there in June 1529; it was quickly reprinted in Augsburg. It not only described the disputation but also attempted to discredit Bugenhagen and the Lutheran pastors by associating them with other persecutors who used their authority to suppress the truth.

In the early years of the Reformation, the dialogue was a popular genre for disseminating views that were potentially dangerous. Almost half of the Reformation dialogues published between 1518 and 1526 were anonymous.[50] Even when dialogue authors gave their names, they were somewhat protected from prosecution because they could cite the literary nature of the genre to argue that they did not personally hold the opinions expressed by any of the figures in the dialogue. The form of a dialogue was well suited for conveying

49 See n. 14 above; printing history in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 267.

50 Alejandro Zorzin, "Einige Beobachtungen zu den zwischen 1518 und 1526 im deutschen Sprachbereich veröffentlichten Dialogflugschriften," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 77–117.

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fairly complex theology to a less educated audience, for the theological arguments tended to be simplified and both humorous elements and polemical outbursts were often added to the mix. The exchanges between two or more figures made dialogues ideal for reading aloud so that even the illiterate could become familiar with the contents, and they allowed for a dramatic rendition that kept the audience's attention.

All of these features can be seen in the *Dialogue*. The pamphlet was a conversation between Erhart, who had heard reports of the Flensburg disputation, and Ypolitus, who said he had attended the disputation and so could summarize it for his friend. Not only was the pamphlet anonymous, but Hoffman's name was not used. Throughout the pamphlet he was referred to as "the furrier" (*kürßner*). Only in accounts of his conversations with Duke Christian and with Bugenhagen was he identified further by being addressed as "Melchior."[51]

The *Dialogue* was as concerned with describing the unjust persecution Hoffman had experienced as it was with recounting the arguments used in the disputation. Ypolitus began by mentioning the furrier's preaching in Latvia, Estonia, and Sweden. In each area he had been opposed and ultimately expelled not by the "papists" but by "those who claimed to be evangelicals," and he now faced the same opponents in Holstein. Echoing Karlstadt's earlier criticism of the two kinds of papists—Catholics and Lutherans, who each claimed for themselves the sole authority to interpret Scripture—Ypolitus compared Bugenhagen to a papal legate. It was due to Bugenhagen that the furrier had been expelled from Holstein along with his wife and child. He was forced to leave behind all his goods, including his books and printing press worth more than a thousand gulden, and it was only by God's grace that he had escaped those who wanted to waylay and murder him.[52] Despite this, Hoffman was steadfast in his confession of the truth, resisting pressure to recant during meetings with the duke both before and after the disputation. Ypolitus told Erhart that the other men associated with Hoffman had also been expelled, and he cited one of them, Jakob Hegge, as asserting that the furrier had not been vanquished by Scripture and that only the Spirit could instruct his conscience.[53]

The *Dialogue* presented the disputation as stacked against Hoffman from the beginning. Only "nobles, scholars, and priests" were allowed into the church to hear the disputation, while the common people had to remain outside. Ypolitus estimated that over four hundred of those present supported

51 "Dialog," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 258.

52 "Dialog," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 256–57, 265–66. This was the context for his comment about the exaggerated authority granted to Bugenhagen; see n. 20 above.

53 "Dialog," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 258, 264–65.

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Hoffman's opponents, but that as many as a hundred others favored Hoffman, although they did not dare to acknowledge this. For his part, Erhart compared "Pomeranus [Bugenhagen] and his crowd" to the tyrants who had persecuted the "holy prophets" of the Old Testament, the Pharisees who opposed Christ, and the popes who had martyred "Doctor Hus and others before and after him."[54]

The *Dialogue* was indeed persuasive, and as an attack not just on the Wittenbergers' doctrine but more fundamentally on their teaching authority, it could not go unanswered. Bugenhagen received copies of both imprints, which prompted him to publish the official protocol of the disputation as prepared by the six notaries who had transcribed it. To this he added an expanded version of his final oration and a refutation of the *Dialogue*.[55] Bugenhagen's pamphlet was much longer and more theologically sophisticated than Hoffman's brief pamphlet. It was also aimed at a somewhat different audience. The anticlerical and populist *Dialogue* appealed directly to the literate artisans represented by Erhart and Ypolitus. The *Acts of the Disputation* could be read by the same group, but it was meant especially for pastors who could use the arguments against any who questioned the presence of Christ's body in the elements, whether literate artisans or illiterate peasants.

Because Hoffman had published his account first, Bugenhagen was placed on the defensive, and he had to convince his readers that the *Dialogue* was full of distortions and falsehoods. He explicitly accused "the furrier," whom he specifically identified as Melchior Hoffman, of writing a false report of the disputation, and he called as his witnesses the duke, his councilors, and the nobles, burghers, peasants and others who had attended the disputation.[56] He also detected Karlstadt's hand behind the anonymous account, which led him to make a few snide references to Erhart as "Ehrlos" (without honor) in his response to the pamphlet.[57]

As justification for including his closing oration, which was not part of the official protocol, Bugenhagen said that several people had asked him to record it, and that he had been commanded to do so by "his royal majesty."[58] From

54 "Dialog," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 259, 265.

55 See n. 14 above; printing history in Laube, *Flugschriften*, 297. For a Low German version of the closing oration, see Johannes Bugenhagen, *Eynne rede/ vam sacrament Dorch Joannem Bugenhagen Pomeren/ tho Flensborch/ nha Melchior Hoffmans dysputatien geredet* (Hamburg: 1529).

56 *Acta*, L8v–M1v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 577–78.

57 "Akten," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 292, 295, 297; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 579, 584, 585.

58 *Acta*, D4v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 522. The note in the English translation identifies "his royal majesty" as King Christian III, but in 1529 Christian was only the duke. His father

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Bugenhagen's perspective the oration was particularly necessary because, as both accounts of the disputation reveal, the Lutheran disputants had not done a very effective job of countering Hofmann's arguments with their fixation on how Hofmann understood "this is my body" and their insistence that one must simply understand these words literally. Bugenhagen therefore took up twenty arguments Hoffman had made over the course of the disputation and responded to each one. As illustrated above, he used his oration to refute the views of Zwingli as well. Several of his responses concerned the proper interpretation of specific Bible verses, such as those used to illustrate other figurative statements in Scripture, or that had become standard sacramentarian arguments against Christ's bodily presence.[59]

Bugenhagen also neutralized Hoffman's use of early Wittenberg theology. He admitted that Luther did indeed teach about spiritual eating, but the reformer did not thereby deny the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament.[60] Bugenhagen likewise acknowledged that Melanchthon had used the examples of the rainbow, circumcision, and other signs, but he accused Hoffman of interpreting them in a way Melanchthon had not intended.[61] The Pomeranian then took the opportunity to explain more fully the Wittenberg understanding of how God worked through the external means of word and sacrament as exercised through the preaching office. He pointed out that Hoffman's claim that only God forgave sins was the same error as that of Karlstadt and Müntzer, who taught that "one should await the Holy Spirit from the sky at a particular place."[62] Hoffman had himself paved the way for this comparison with Müntzer by his statement in the disputation that there would be much bloodshed if there was no agreement, and it would be the fault of the preachers who taught Christ's bodily presence. This had provoked Bugenhagen to intervene in order to argue that it was not the preachers but their opponents who gave rise to sedition.[63]

To the oration Bugenhagen added a brief description of the meeting between the duke and the dissidents that took place the day after the disputation.

King Frederick was in Flensburg at the time of the disputation, although he did not attend it, and Bugenhagen was probably referring to the king; Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 109.

59 Figurative statements: John 19:26, Luke 2:48, *Acta*, D8v–E6r; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 526–31. Against the substantial presence of Christ's body: Matt. 24:23 and Mark 14:23–24, both of which were cited in Karlstadt's 1524 eucharistic pamphlets, *Acta*, G4r–H1v, H7v–J2v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 544–50, 555–58.

60 *Acta*, E8r–v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 533.

61 "Akten," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 293; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 580.

62 *Acta*, F1v–F7v, citation at F3r; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 534–40, citation at 536.

63 "Akten," Laube, *Flugschriften*, 287, cf. 291.

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To counter Hoffman's claim that Bugenhagen was responsible for their expulsion, the Pomeranian presented himself as a moderating influence, since some had called for Hoffman's execution. He also pointed out that Hoffman and his supporters were not expelled immediately but rather that they were given enough time to leave the territory in some security.[64] Bugenhagen told readers he had not arrived in pomp but had merely come with the Hamburg delegation and happened to arrive in Flensburg at the same time as the city council.[65] Moreover, he had not participated in the disputation but had only made a few interjections, so Hoffman could not rightly claim to have silenced him.[66] He showed no sympathy for Hoffman's complaints about the loss of his goods but instead asked how Hoffman had managed to acquire such a substantial amount of property, when in 1527 he had been so poor that he had needed to ask for travel money from a Hamburg pastor.[67]

As the *pièce de résistance*, Bugenhagen reported that Jakob Hegge had come to him in Hamburg a few weeks after the disputation and asked to be reconciled with the church. Bugenhagen was initially unwilling to allow this, for he feared Hegge's change of heart was not genuine, but he was eventually convinced by the written testimony of other pastors from Holstein.[68] Bugenhagen then printed Hegge's revocation, which gives further insight into the reception of Wittenberg pamphlets on the Lord's Supper. Because Hoffman had emphasized Hegge's steadfastness in rejecting the substantial presence of Christ's body, the inclusion of Hegge's recantation was perhaps as effective a way of refuting Hofmann's position as the actual disputation acts.

Hegge began with the sacramentarians' conflicting and contradictory interpretations of "this is my body," which undermined their credibility. The Wittenberg party had made these exegetical disagreements one of their chef arguments against the sacramentarians from the beginning of the eucharistic controversy, and Luther had given it classic form in his preface to the first Wittenberg translation of Johannes Brenz's *Syngramma on the Words of the Lord's Supper*.[69] Hegge followed Luther in listing the differing views of Karlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and the Silesians, although without mentioning names or imitating Luther's mocking tone. The fifth view, that "the

64 *Acta*, L7r–L8r.

65 *Acta*, L8v–M1v; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 577–78.

66 *Acta*, M4v–M5r; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 581.

67 *Acta*, N1v–N2r; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 586. Both Hoffman and Bugenhagen were being disingenuous here, since the real losers were probably the creditors who had loaned the money to Hoffman to purchase the house and run the press.

68 *Acta*, N3r–N4r; Bugenhagen, *Writings*, 587–88.

69 Burnett, "Hermeneutics," 90–2; cf. WA 19, 458–59; LW 59, 157–58.

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words should indeed be taken naturally but understood spiritually, like those of John 6," accorded with Hoffman's arguments in the Flensburg disputation.[70]

Hegge also repeated Luther's argument from *That These Words of Christ, "This is my Body," Still Stand Firm against the Fanatic Spirits* that the sacramentarians could not prove that the two statements, "Christ sits at the right hand of the Father," and "Christ's body is in the bread of the Supper," were contradictory.[71] He urged those who read sectarian pamphlets to read not only this treatise by Luther, but also the Wittenberger's *Against the Heavenly Prophets* and his *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, as well as Bugenhagen's "confession of what he holds concerning this sacrament" and the Braunschweig church ordinance, "where he clearly deals with Christ's institution."[72] Finally, he warned his readers that some members of these sects had mixed their "erring opinions" concerning the sacrament into the books of Luther and Bugenhagen when they had them printed, even if the Wittenbergers condemned their teaching as false. This caution was an indirect reference to Martin Bucer's German version of Bugenhagen's Latin Psalms commentary and his Latin translation of Luther's postils; Luther had condemned both translations in *That These Words Still Stand Firm*.[73]

4 Controversy, Persuasion, and Dissemination

The two printed accounts of the Flensburg disputation illustrate the conflation of argumentation and persuasion in early Reformation debate. The arguments for and against Christ's bodily presence set forth in the disputation cannot be divorced from the rhetorical strategies employed by the authors of the two pamphlets. The narrative framework of each work shaped the readers'

70 *Acta*, N4v–N5r. Hegge summarized Karlstadt's position as "That which sits at table is my body which will be given for you," a much more accurate and objective summary than Luther's mockery of Karlstadt's understanding of the Greek *touto* ("this") or the argument that Christ pointed to his body when he said, "this is my body."

71 This was one of the major sections of Luther's treatise, *Daß diese Wort Christi, "Das ist mein Leib," noch fest stehen wider die Schwärmgeister*, WA 23, 131–55; LW 37, 55–70.

72 Hegge may have been referring to Bugenhagen's *Publica confessio*, although it would have been unusual to recommend a Latin work to a German-reading audience. More likely it was Bugenhagen's *Bekentnis von seinem glauben vnd lere; geschrieben an eynen Widderteuffer* (Wittenberg: 1529), a very brief and simple confession of faith that discussed both sacraments.

73 *Acta*, N5v–N7r; cf. *Daß diese Wort Christi*, WA 23, 279–81; LW 37, 146–49. On these translations, see Burnett, *Debating the Sacraments*, 121–38.

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reception of the arguments made in the disputation itself. *Streitkultur* and the culture of persuasion were two sides of the same coin.

The ideas discussed at Flensburg also give some insight into the role of printing in the reception and dissemination of rival understandings of the Lord's Supper at the far northern limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Hoffman was strongly influenced by the early Wittenberg discussions of the sacrament, even though he rejected the substantial presence of Christ's body in the elements.[74] The frequent reprinting of Luther's early pamphlets meant that even seven years after the initial publication of Luther's sermon on receiving both elements in the Supper, Hoffman apparently had no problem obtaining a copy to give to Duke Christian.[75]

In contrast, it was much more difficult for Hoffman to obtain the works of sacramentarian authors. Hoffman did not reject Christ's substantial presence until three or four years after the publication of the pamphlets of Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Cornelis Hoen that began the eucharistic controversy, which suggests a very slow spread into the north of works printed in the south.[76] The writings of the Silesian reformers were also difficult to obtain, for they circulated only in manuscript until 1527. Ernst Koch has argued that Zwingli had little direct influence on the debates over the Lord's Supper in northern Germany in the later 1520s, and this study provides further support for his conclusion.[77] Although both the Lutheran disputants and Bugenhagen brought up arguments made by the Zurich reformer, Hoffman's ideas owed far more to Karlstadt and the Silesians, and it is hard to detect any direct influence of Zwingli's thought. Klaus Deppermann has also pointed to Hoen's influence on Hoffman.[78] This is certainly possible, but Karlstadt incorporated many of Hoen's ideas into his own pamphlets, with the important exception of understanding Christ's statement as "this signifies my body," and Hoffman may thus

74 Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 119–23; Holze, "Eine lutherische Stimme." In fact, because of the sacramentarian insistence that the sacraments were only signs, by 1529 the Wittenbergers had largely moved away from the terminology of promise and sign and used instead the pairing of God's word and element, whether water or bread and wine, when they discussed the sacraments; Burnett, *Debating the Sacraments*, 249–69.

75 See n. 26 above.

76 Karlstadt's eucharistic pamphlets were published in Basel, Strasbourg, and Augsburg. The German translation of Hoen's pamphlet was published in the latter two cities, and all of Zwingli's works were printed in Zurich.

77 Ernst Koch, "Zwinglianer zwischen Ostsee und Harz in den Anfangsjahren der Reformation (1525–1532)," *Zwingliana* 16 (1983–85): 517–45.

78 Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 126–30.

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have learned of Hoen's arguments second-hand.[79] Karlstadt apparently had some contact with Schwenckfeld and Krautwald from 1527, and it may well be that the most important stimulus to Hoffman's thought came through his discussions with Karlstadt after the latter's arrival in Kiel.

The same factors limiting the spread of Zwingli's ideas to northern Germany would also limit the dissemination of the pamphlets describing the Flensburg disputation. It is unlikely, in view of the relatively small size of early modern print runs, that many readers obtained copies of both pamphlets. Hoffman's *Dialogue*, printed in Strasbourg and Augsburg, was most easily obtained by the literate inhabitants of the South German cities, who were already inclined to accept Hoffman's interpretation of the Lord's Supper. In contrast, the Wittenberg printing of Bugenhagen's account would have been most widely distributed in central Germany where the Lutherans dominated, and the Low German translation of his closing oration was aimed squarely at a North German audience. For this reason, the techniques of persuasion employed in both pamphlets were probably more important for affirming their readers' own position rather than for causing them to change their mind, which highlights again the close connection between *Steitkultur* and the culture of persuasion.

Despite these caveats about dissemination, the two printed accounts of the Flensburg disputation did make possible the spread of Hoffman's ideas outside of Schleswig and Holstein. As a means of eliminating dissent, the Flensburg disputation achieved its desired goal. The power relations between Lutherans and sacramentarians in the north were such that Hoffman had no chance of winning the disputation. In the eyes of both the king and the duke, the disputation upheld the position of the duchy's pastors concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements, and Hoffman and his followers were expelled. The situation in south Germany was quite different, however, and Hoffman would be welcomed upon his arrival in Strasbourg as one who upheld the truth. His ideas would undergo further development in that city, becoming more radical and, in the eyes of the authorities, more dangerous. In 1533 he would engage in a disputation with that city's clergy that led not to expulsion but to life-long imprisonment. That disputation is another story.

79 In contrast, the claim that Christ meant "this signifies my body" was the only idea from Hoen's pamphlet that Zwingli used in his earliest publications, Burnett, *Karlstadt*, 61, 67. On the differences between Zwingli, Karlstadt, and Hoen, see Burnett, *Karlstadt*, 94–96.

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CHAPTER 6

How to Make a Holy Well: Local Practices and Official Responses in Early Modern Germany

Ute Lotz-Heumann

In 1659, Paul Krieger, a canon lawyer and priest in Schrobenhausen, described how the four-year-old son of Caspar Kistler, a schoolteacher from Hochenwarth in Bavaria, screamed for two or three hours every night. Nothing could calm the child and there was no obvious explanation for his behavior. The father concluded that unidentifiable "evil people" (*bösen Leuten*) had bewitched his son, but then Kistler remembered the holy well of Saint Wenceslaus in Oberlauterbach in Upper Bavaria. He went to the pilgrimage site, prayed to the saint, left a votive offering, and pledged to bring his son there as soon as possible. The child got better immediately.[1] Just thirteen years earlier, in 1646, Friedrich Salchmann, the Lutheran pastor of Hornhausen near Halberstadt in northern Germany, had noted in his *Historical Relation of the Hornhausen Healing Well* that a shepherd's "very sick child" (*sehr kranckes Kind*) recovered immediately after drinking the water of the Hornhausen well "through God's grace."[2] The experiences of these fathers and their children are two of thousands of stories collected in miracle books written by clergy and theologians about healing at Catholic holy wells and Lutheran miracle wells in early modern Germany.

* The initial research for this chapter was conducted as part of the Sonderforschungsbereich (research cluster) 640 on "Representations of Social Order" at Humboldt University in Berlin between 2004 and 2008. I would like to thank my two research assistants in Berlin, Jacob Schilling and Lisa Wolff, and my research assistant in Tucson, Hannah McClain, for their help.

1 Paul Krieger, *Beneficia Oder Gesundtmachung So sich bey St. Wenceßlai Böhaimischen Fürsten und Martyrers Hayl-Brunn Zu Oberlautterbach/ im Chur-Fürstlichen Landtgericht Schrobenhausen in Obern Bayrn/ Augspurger Bistumbs/ im Jahr 1658. unnd 59. eraygnet* (Ingolstadt: 1659), 38.

2 Friedrich Salchmann, *Historischer Bericht Von den Hornhausischen Gesund-Brunnen/ Wann dieselbe entstanden/ wie sie bekandt worden/ Und was der Wunderthätige GOtt biß anhero Denckwürdiges durch dieselben gewürcket hat. Zur Außbreitung der Ehren Gottes/ mit sonderm Fleiß beschrieben/ Und auff vielfaltiges Begehren zum Druck verfertiget/ Durch Fridericum Salchmanum, Pastorem des Orths* (Halberstadt: 1646), A3r.

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Holy wells at Catholic pilgrimage sites and Lutheran miracle wells were ever present features of early modern life in the German lands.[3] As such, these wells provide a window into the complex negotiations in contemporary society over their meaning and over the religious and healing practices associated with them. A variety of different actors from a wide social spectrum, both lay and clerical, were involved in using and defining these wells. Healing waters thus became flashpoints for the negotiation of practices and expectations on the local level on the one hand, and the interactions of local developments with the opinions and responses of higher-ranking church and secular officials on the other. This chapter will explore Catholic and Lutheran examples of the negotiations that occurred about the meaning of healing waters. In particular, the creation and operation of these holy and miracle wells reveal the shared assumptions as well as the tensions between local and official religion in both confessions in early modern Germany.

Healing waters were a common treatment for all kinds of illnesses in early modern Europe and people from all walks of life regularly used them.[4] Up until the nineteenth century, however, it was impossible to establish through scientific evidence whether a water source springing from the earth was actually therapeutic. The healing quality of a specific well was therefore determined by successful attribution and social consensus. Although contemporaries agreed well into the eighteenth century that all healing waters, like the rest of the natural world, were God-given, this basic assumption still resulted in very different attributions as to the exact characteristics and function of these

3 See Alfred Martin, *Deutsches Badewesen in vergangenen Tagen* (Jena: 1906), 272–363.

4 Research on healing waters and holy and miracle wells in early modern Germany and Europe is scarce. Historians of medicine usually only touch on the question of healing waters briefly. See, for example, Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: 2010), 273. Religious historians largely have ignored holy and miracle wells, with some notable exceptions. See, for example, Jens Chr. V. Johansen, "Holy Springs and Protestantism in Early Modern Denmark: A Medical Rationale for a Religious Practice," *Medical History* 41 (1997): 59–69; Alexandra Walsham, "Reforming the Waters: Holy Wells and Healing Springs in Protestant England," in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100–c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross*, ed. Diana Wood (Rochester: 1999), 227–55. A rich literature on related phenomena in early modern religious and popular culture does exist, for example, David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: 1998); Jürgen Beyer, "A Lübeck Prophet in Local and Lutheran Context," in *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800*, eds. Bob Scribner and Trevor Johnson (New York: 1996), 166–182, 264–72; Philip Soergel, "From Legends to Lies: Protestant Attacks on Catholic Miracles in Late Reformation Germany," *Fides et Historia* 21 (1989): 21–29; David W. Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, UK: 1984).

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healing waters and the appropriate practices associated with their usage.[5] As a result, different groups in society constantly negotiated the religious and medical interpretations of healing waters.

Three interpretations of healing waters prevailed in the printed discourse in early modern Germany. First, some authors, mostly physicians, described healing waters as medicines and attributed their healing qualities to natural causes.[6] This medical discourse was deeply rooted in late medieval Italian works on the healing effects of bathing and of mineral springs.[7] Second, Catholic authors presented healing waters as holy waters and ascribed their healing qualities to their association with a saint and a pilgrimage site. The connection between holy wells and pilgrimage sites had been established since the Middle Ages, and these sites most likely replaced older, pre-Christian cults associated with the veneration of springs.[8] Third, healing waters became part of the larger confessional debate during the Reformation, leading to the emergence of a distinct Lutheran interpretation of healing springs. While Catholic authors always associated Catholic holy wells with permanent pilgrimage sites dedicated to saints, Lutheran authors presented Lutheran miracle wells as stand-alone phenomena that gave rise to what one might call, for lack of a better word, spontaneous Lutheran pilgrimages.[9]

Across all social groups, early modern Catholics and Lutherans shared an understanding of the world as deeply influenced by the supernatural. Both confessions accepted that the supernatural could intervene in the world at

5 For a more detailed treatment of some of the material in this chapter see Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Repräsentationen von Heilwassern und -quellen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Badeorte, lutherische Wunderquellen und katholische Wallfahrten," in *Säkularisierungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Methodische Probleme und empirische Fallstudien*, eds. Matthias Pohlig, Ute Lotz-Heumann, Vera Isaiasz, Ruth Schilling, Heike Bock, and Stefan Ehrenpreis (Berlin: 2008), 277–330. See also Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Finding a Cure: Representations of Holy Wells and Healing Waters in Early Modern Germany," in *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichte des Wissens im Dialog—Connecting Science and Knowledge*, eds. Kaspar von Greyerz, Silvia Flubacher, and Philipp Senn (Göttingen: 2013), 233–53.

6 See Frank Fürbeth, *Heilquellen in der deutschen Wissensliteratur des Spätmittelalters* (Wiesbaden: 2004), 197; Lotz-Heumann, "Repräsentationen," 285–88.

7 See Katharine Park, "Natural Particulars: Medical Epistemology, Practice, and the Literature of Healing Springs," in *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, eds. Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, MA: 1999), 1–16.

8 See Franz Leskoschek, "Heilige Quellen und Wunderbrunnen in der Steiermark," *Blätter für Heimatkunde* 21 (1947): 3–24, here 3–5; Heidemarie Strauss and Peter Strauss, *Heilige Quellen zwischen Donau, Lech und Salzach* (Munich: 1987), 14.

9 I differentiate between Catholic "holy wells" (*heilige Quellen*) at pilgrimage sites and Lutheran "miracle wells" (*Wunderbrunnen*) which Lutheran clergy, as described below, tried their utmost to differentiate from Catholic holy wells.

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any time, thereby interrupting natural processes, as happened in the case of miracles.[10] While the official Catholic concept of saintly miracles remained largely unchanged between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, post-Tridentine clerical authorities sought to propagate and control miracles at the same time. Officially recognized saintly miracles at pilgrimage sites and holy wells served to strengthen the Catholic message and reassure the faithful in an age of confessional divide and the Church thus strove to control local cults and the miracles that were associated with them, for example by carefully investigating their veracity and by giving them official sanction in pilgrimage books.[11]

In contrast, the Lutheran understanding of miracles shifted during the long Reformation era. After Martin Luther rejected the notion of saints, Lutherans attacked the pilgrimages and saintly miracles propagated by the Catholic Church.[12] Generally, Luther and other early Lutheran reformers were rather skeptical about miracles and they regarded the age of miracles as being in the past. They viewed the occurrence of miracles as largely restricted to the times of the Old and New Testaments and the miracles performed by Jesus as necessary to establish the Christian faith. Now that the truth had been revealed, they argued, new miracles were, in effect, superfluous, and therefore God chose not to employ them.[13] In 1683, Johann Conrad Dannauer described Catholic miracles as "a silly superstition, madness, barbarity, and idolatry."[14] This sense of suspicion about miracles can also be seen in early Lutheran discussions of the miraculous healing qualities of holy wells. In 1532, Andreas Althamer voiced the opinion that "faith must do it, not the holy-water spring, but faith and trust in God through Jesus Christ."[15] Despite their caution about miracles,

10 R. W. Scribner, "Elements of Popular Belief," in R. W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: 2001), 52–82, here 56–59; Robert Scribner, "Reformation and Desacralisation: From Sacramental World to Moralised Universe," in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, eds. R. Po-Chia Hsia and Robert Scribner (Wiesbaden: 1997), 75–92, here 78.

11 Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: 1993); Gabriela Signori, *Wunder: Eine historische Einführung* (Frankfurt: 2007), 36–38.

12 See Soergel, "From Legends to Lies."

13 Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: 2012), 46.

14 As quoted in Renate Dürr, "Der schwierige Umgang mit dem schönen Wunder: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Wunderheilung aus dem Jahre 1644," in *Weib und Seele: Frömmigkeit und Spiritualität evangelischer Frauen in Württemberg*, ed. Eberhard Gutekunst (Ludwigsburg: 1998), 89–95, here 89.

15 As quoted in Euan Cameron, "For Reasoned Faith or Embattled Creed? Religion for the People in Early Modern Europe," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Sixth Series) 8 (1998): 165–87, here 175. See also Soergel, *Miracles*, 46.

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Lutheran theologians never expressed any doubt that God—and only God!—could disrupt the laws of nature to perform miracles if He so chose. In this way miracles remained a possibility for Lutheran reformers.[16] They regarded the phenomenon of miracles as adiaphoron, a question not vital to the fundamentals of the faith. Historians working on Lutheranism have shown how the concept of adiaphora—combined with an openness of Lutheran confessional culture to grant local churches a measure of independence in such "indifferent matters"—led to negotiations with and accommodations of beliefs in the supernatural.[17]

Lutheran theologians had thus created wiggle room for the interpretation of events such as the healings at wells that could, as a result, be described as miraculous by clergy and laypeople alike. In his 1556 pamphlet about the Pyrmont well, for instance, Burkhard Metobius (Mitthof), a physician and professor of medicine and astronomy at Marburg, asserted that, "Nowadays there are people who may say that in our times the almighty God does no longer show great miracles to mankind as he did in the time of Jesus Christ, his beloved son. But if they looked at this miracle, they would no longer be so ignorant about God and his miracles."[18] Clearly, these Lutherans did not believe that the age of miracles was in the past.

Due to this common understanding of the possibility of miracles, Lutherans and Catholics also shared one important assumption about miraculous wells: they expected the healing water to cure any illness and especially maladies that physicians regarded as incurable. While medical pamphlets sought to define the healing qualities of waters by experience, elite and popular opinion regarded a holy or miracle well as a universal healing instrument. For example, the author of one Lutheran broadsheet noted: "These waters are used against

16 See Renate Dürr, "Prophetie und Wunderglauben—zu den kulturellen Folgen der Reformation," *Historische Zeitschrift 281* (2005): 3–32; Soergel, *Miracles*, 46.

17 See, for example, Sabine Holtz, "Das Luthertum," in *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum*, vol. 4: *1650–1750*, eds. Kaspar von Greyerz and Anne Conrad (Paderborn: 2012), 145–307, here 223–24; Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur: Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen: 2006); Renate Dürr, "Aneignungsprozesse in der lutherischen Kirchweihe (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)," in *Entfaltung und zeitgenössische Wirkung der Reformation im europäischen Kontext—Dissemination and Contemporary Impact of the Reformation in a European Context*, eds. Irene Dingel and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Gütersloh: 2015), 318–44.

18 "Man find heütigs tags leüt, die dörffen sagen, dz bey vnsern zeiten der allmechtig Gott nit so grosse wunderwerck und miracklen den menschen erzeigt, als zůn zeiten Christi seines geliebten sůns, nemen die selbige diß wunderwerck für augen, so werdens nit so vnwüssent von Gott vnd seinem wunderwerck reden." As quoted in Hermann Engel, "Die Schriften von 1556 über die Pyrmonter Heilquellen," in *Bad Pyrmont—Tal der sprudelnden Quellen: Zur Geschichte der Pyrmonter Heil- und Mineralquellen*, ed. Andreas Lilge (Pyrmont: 1992), 29–45, here 40.

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all kinds of internal and external illnesses which are completely hopeless and which no physician can heal."[19] The ultimate distinguishing mark of holy and miracle wells was that they could cure demonic possession and bewitchment.[20] While medical pamphlets defined the right manner for approaching a healing water at a spa in terms of its proper medical application, the right manner for approaching a holy or miracle well was as a pious believer. Despite these basic similarities, the differences between the Catholic and the Lutheran official definitions and spatial configurations of healing wells were pronounced.

In official Catholicism, holy wells were—and are—deeply integrated into the worship of saints at pilgrimage sites. While some historians have differentiated between "primary" and "secondary" cults of holy wells, thus describing holy wells as "primary cults" if the water cult existed first and a saint's shrine was added later, while a "secondary cult" implies the opposite development, such neat demarcations have little to do with the often obscure and messy origins of medieval holy wells.[21] In the early modern period, Catholic holy wells were invariably connected to saints, notably Saint Ulrich, who is regarded as a patron saint of water and wells, and the Virgin Mary. In addition, some pilgrimage sites with holy wells were associated with Christ and named "Church of the Holy Blood." In early modern Germany, pilgrimage sites with holy wells existed in all Catholic areas, especially in Bavaria, the Rhineland, and the Habsburg territories.[22]

A pilgrimage site usually included an ensemble of miracle-producing objects and material objects of worship—the image of the saint, relics, statues,

19 "Dienen für allerhand inner- und euerliche gebrechen/ die gantz desperat und kein medicus heilen kan." *Eigentlicher Abriß Des Dorffes Hornhausen/ Darinnen nun in die Zwantzig Heil-Brunnen entsprungen/ welche vor allerley innerlich- und eusserlichen Schäden und Kranckheiten nützlich zu gebrauchen* (n.p.: 1646).

20 See, for example, [Christoph Barbarossa], *Wunder-brunnen Gottes/ Das ist: Waarhafftiger/ Christlicher und nothwendiger Bericht/ was von denen Brunnen zuhalten/ darbey so grosse Zeichen und Wunder geschehen/ auch was ein Christlich Hertz zu seiner Lehr/ Trost/ Warnung und Vermahnung/ ohne alle Superstition und Aberglauben/ dabey betrachten möge* (Nuremberg: 1646), B1r–v.

21 See Alois Döring, "Heiliges Wasser: Quellenkult und Wassersegnungen im Rheinland," *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 41 (1996): 61–100, here 68–69; Gerhard Zückert, "Alte Brunnen in der nördlichen Oberpfalz," *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken* 62 (1982): 147–54, here 152–53.

22 See Rudolf Kriß, *Volkskundliches aus altbayrischen Gnadenstätten: Beiträge zu einer Geographie des Wallfahrtsbrauchtums* (Augsburg: 1930); Gustav Gugitz, *Österreichs Gnadenstätten in Kult und Brauch: Ein topographisches Handbuch zur religiösen Volkskunde*, 5 vols. (Vienna: 1955–58); Strauss and Strauss, *Heilige Quellen*; Leskoschek, "Heilige," 3–24; Johann Schleich, *Heil- und Wunderquellen in der Steiermark* (Graz: 1998); Döring, "Heiliges Wasser."

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the holy well, the offertory box, the votive offerings, and so on. As a result, Catholic theologians did not discuss holy wells as a separate phenomenon from pilgrimages. Holy wells existed as an integral part of the descriptions and miracle books of pilgrimage sites. Miraculous wells were thus woven into a whole structure of holiness at a shrine, including the material culture that guided the practices of worship.

A Catholic holy well was presented in close spatial—and therefore mental—proximity with the miraculous image or statue of the saint. This direct relationship between holy water and saint can be seen in a number of ways. Certainly the most striking examples of this connection are the statues of saints from which the healing water flowed directly into a basin underneath. This intertwined worship can be seen, for example, in these Baroque figures of the Madonna and Child from St. Margarethen near Grieskirchen in Upper Austria (Fig. 6.1) and of Christ from the pilgrimage church of Heilig Blut am Wasen near Rosenheim south of Munich (Fig. 6.2).[23] In both cases, the healing water from the holy well used to flow out of these statues. Some holy wells sprang up from beneath the altar or right in front of the altar. An example of this type of relationship can be seen in the pilgrimage church near Einsbach in Bavaria.[24] In other sites, the holy well was housed in a chapel of its own which was clearly marked and described as an integral part of the configuration of the pilgrimage site, as, for example, in the above-mentioned site at Rosenheim and at Frasdorf, both in southern Bavaria.[25] Independent of these spatial configurations, Catholic authors always emphasized an unwavering connection between the saint and the holy water. For example, Fortunat Hueber, writing about the pilgrimage site of Neukirchen in Bavaria in 1671, commented "that the Blessed Virgin Mary has a habit of mostly residing at the [holy] wells."[26]

23 See Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Bilder und Zeichen religiösen Volksglaubens* (Munich: 1963), 92; Strauss and Strauss, *Heilige Quellen*, 48; Anton Bauer, *Heiligblut am Wasen: Geschichte einer Wallfahrt im bayerischen Inn-Oberland, Pfarrei Pang, Landkreis Rosenheim* (Rosenheim: 1949), 24.

24 See Strauss and Strauss, *Heilige Quellen*, 102.

25 See Strauss and Strauss, *Heilige Quellen*, 47–50.

26 "daß die Göttliche Jungfraw sich pflege am maisten bey den Brünnen auffzuhalten." Fortunat Hueber, *Zeitiger Granat-apfel Der allerscheinbaristen Wunderzierden In denen Wunderthätigen Bildsaulen Unser L. Frawen/ der allerheiligisten Jungfräwlichen Mutter Gottes MARIA Bey zweyen hoch-ansehentlichen Völckern der Bayrn und Böhamen. Besonders Von der Blutfleissenden Bildsaulen der gnadenreichisten Himmelkönigin und Trösterin aller Betrübten Zu Newkirchen In Chur-Bayrn/ am Ober Böhamer-Wald gelegen. So beschriben und in drey Theil entscheiden hat P. Fr. Fortunatus Hueber von Neustatt/ der Mindern Brüder Ordens S. Francisci, in der Reformierten Bayrischen Provintz Priester und heiliger Schrifft Lector* (Munich: 1671), 168.

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FIGURE 6.1 Statue of the Virgin Mary (Brunnenfigur: Stillende Madonna), St. Margarethen near Grieskirchen in Upper Austria, 2nd half of the 17th century, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München, Inv.-Nr. Kr K 193, photo Nr. D31524
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FIGURE 6.2 Statue of Jesus, Wallfahrtskirche Heilig Blut am Wasen, Rosenheim, Bavaria
PHOTO MARJORIE ELIZABETH PLUMMER

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In contrast to Catholic pilgrimage sites with holy wells which often still exist today, Lutheran miracle wells were highly transitory. They suddenly sprang up and were credited with hundreds, sometimes thousands of miraculous healings. Despite this popularity, no one attempted to create a permanent architectural and institutional framework, which differentiated them from the Catholic holy wells. This speaks to the fact that miracle wells did not have a clear and established place in Lutheran theology. Nevertheless, the openness to miracles and the emerging popularity of such wells among the laity and the local clergy resulted in miracle wells becoming an integral, but still highly transitory, part of the Lutheran belief system during the early modern period.

Both the earliest and the most famous of early modern Lutheran miracle wells, Pyrmont and Hornhausen, are examples of the short-lived nature of these wells. Discovered in 1556, the Pyrmont well in the county of Spiegelberg (northeast of Paderborn) is usually regarded as the first Lutheran miracle well. It did not last long; the well had lost its healing power by 1557. The number of such Lutheran miracle wells grew by the beginning of the seventeenth century, spreading rapidly, such that miracle wells could be found in many Lutheran territories in northern and central Germany by the end of the century. The most spectacular example of this proliferation was Hornhausen, located in the bishopric of Halberstadt under the secular jurisdiction of the electorate of Brandenburg. Shortly before the end of the Thirty Years' War from 1646 to 1647, thousands of people flocked to the miracle wells that had sprung up in this small village.[27]

Although Lutheran authors described miracle wells as gifts from God, their depictions quickly turned to the fleeting nature of these gifts and the inability of the faithful to thank God properly for His grace. As such, Lutheran miracle wells were perceived as highly unstable and transitory. God could take away his gift at any moment. For example, the alleged loss of the miraculous healing powers of the Pyrmont well in 1557, around the same time when the count of Spiegelberg died in battle, was attributed to the sins that had been committed at the well.[28]

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27 For more details, see Lotz-Heumann, "Repräsentationen." See also Hartmut Kühne, "'… diese Quelle übertrifft all Thermen und anderen Quellen': Der Wunderbrunnen von Pyrmont im Briefwechsel Melanchthons," in *Philipp Melanchthon: Lehrer Deutschlands, Reformator Europas*, eds. Irene Dingel and Armin Kohnle (Leipzig: 2012), 227–50; Hartmut Kühne, "Die Wunderbrunnen von Hornhausen und Gottschdorf bei Königsbrück—Ein Beitrag zur lutherischen Frömmigkeit des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Musik und Konfessionskulturen in der Oberlausitz in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Thomas Napp and Christian Speer (Görlitz: 2013), 83–99.

28 On Pyrmont see Wilhelm Mehrdorf and Luise Stemler, *Chronik von Bad Pyrmont* (Bad Pyrmont: 1967), vol. 1, 39. In general, see *Zwo warhafftige newe Zeitung/ Von einem Brunnen/ welchen Gott der Allmechtige aus der Erden hat auffspringen lassen/ in Schlesien*

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Mirroring these differences in the official representations of healing wells, the attitudes of Catholic and Lutheran clergy toward the laity's practices at these wells reflected the fundamental theological contrast between the two confessions. While Lutheran clergy rejected the worship of saints at miracle wells, Catholic clergy embraced the practice and actively encouraged the association between wells and shrines. At the same time, beyond these confessional distinctions, similarities emerge in the way in which the meaning of healing wells were negotiated between different actors in society.

Dozens of local Lutheran clergymen enthusiastically embraced the popular wells that emerged in the seventeenth century, accepted the cures worked through the wells as miracles, and expended a lot of energy and paper to promote them. They took up the terms "miracle" (*Wunderwerk, Mirakel*) and "miracle well" (*Wunderbrunnen*) in their pamphlets and their so-called *Brunnengebete* (prayers written specifically for use at the wells). In their works, these authors frequently drew parallels to biblical miracles.

Yet, as evidenced in their complaints, many Lutheran clergymen found that some of the popular religious practices that accompanied these miracle wells smacked of Catholicism and/or superstition. They certainly sought to control some of these behaviors. For example, in 1556, Philipp Melanchthon had the ordinance for the Pyrmont well printed in Wittenberg. This ordinance demonstrated a certain amount of caution about the behavior of the populace since it stipulated that people "should not honor the well as a god and not make an idol of it, but just use it in God's honor because it flows from his grace."[29] Such concerns continued as the number of wells grew. For instance, the local clergyman in Hornhausen, Friedrich Salchmann, stressed that Lutheran miracle wells had nothing to do with, as he called them, "dead saints and their powerless remains."[30]

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bey der Steina/ Zwo meyl weges von der Fürstlichen Stadt Neyß. Und wer des Wassers trincket/ er sey Krumb oder Lahm/ so wird er gesund davon/ Welches viel Hundert Personen probieret haben. Und ist der Brunnen entsprungen in dem grossen Wetter vor Mitfasten/ in diesem Tausendt Sechshundert und andern Jahre. Gesangßweise gestellet. Im Thon: Hilff Gott das mirs gelingt. Die ander Zeitung/ Von Zweyen unterschiedlichen Wettern/ auffs kürtzte Gesangsweise gestellet/ und zu singen. Im Thon/ Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn (Neiße: 1602).

29 "Daß sie nicht Göttliche Ehr beweisen/ Diesem Brunn, und machen ihn nicht/ Zu einem Abgott, sondern schlicht/ Zu Gottes Ehrn sein geniessen/ Von dem kömmt diese Gnad herfliessen." Martin, *Deutsches Badewesen*, 293.

30 Friedrich Salchmann, *Continuatio prima, Oder Erster weiterer Bericht Von den Hornhausischen Sund-Brunnen/ Wie der Wunderthätige Gott dieselben wunderbarlicher weise vermehret/ und dadurch ferner seine Wunder-Krafft erzeiget habe/ Alles auffs fleissigste beschrieben/ und auff vielfältiges Begehren zum Druck verfertiget* (Halberstadt: 1647), 26.

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To show the difference in their understanding of the healing at wells, Lutheran clergymen emphasized God's grace (*sola gratia*) and justification by faith alone (*sola fide*) and denounced justification by works by contrasting Lutheran worship practices with the variety of rituals and religious practices associated with Catholic holy wells and their saints, above all, votive offerings. Accordingly, Lutheran miracle wells were to be associated with a very limited range of worship practices. In accordance with the reduction of rituals by the Lutheran Reformation as described by Susan Karant-Nunn, people seeking a cure at a Lutheran miracle well were supposed to engage in only two religious activities: praying and hearing the sermons.[31] Thus, Salchmann emphasized that the public prayers institutionalized in Hornhausen were meant to "combat the superstition of the common people."[32] In particular, Lutheran clergy insisted that the laity engage in individual and collective prayer *before* using the water of the miracle wells. The title engraving of Salchmann's *Historischer Bericht Von den Hornhausischen Gesund-Brunnen* clearly explains the order in which the faithful should approach the well: on the left a person is first shown in prayer, then on the right the person is receiving the water to drink (Fig. 6.3).[33]

Broadsheets, with their powerful images, especially served to impart the Lutheran interpretation of miracle wells to the common people, in particular the illiterate. Broadsheets also exemplified some of the potential pitfalls associated with conveying a theological message to layfolk through images. In

31 See Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: 1997).

32 "Superstition [des] gemeine[n] Pöfel." Salchmann, *Continuatio prima*, 6. See also Andreas von Keil, *Pyrmontanus Fons Sacer, Das ist: Beschreibung Des Wunderbaren und Welt-berühmten Heil-Brunnenns/ Gelegen in der Herrschafft Pyrmont/ Sammt seiner vortrefflichen Krafft und Wirckung/ auch welche Gebrechen des menschlichen Cörpers durch dieses Wassers Nützung/ ohne Kosten/ mit weniger Neben-Artzney/ geheilet und curiret werden können; Vormals beschrieben von Johanne Pyrmontano, alias Feuerberg/ und gedruckt zu Lemgo/ 1597. durch Conrad Grothen Erben. Anjetzo wegen des gemeinen Nutzens wieder auffs neue durchgesehen/ und mit Historischen Anmerckungen dieses Landes und Pyrmontischer Herrschafft herausgegeben von Andrea von Keil* (1709).

33 Salchmann, *Historischer Bericht*. This title page also serves to differentiate Lutheran miracle wells from healing waters at spas by proclaiming: "Quod Deus hic facit, nec medicus, nec physicus." See also the caption no. 17, "*Also geschiet das gebet uor gebrauch des waßers*" (Thus prayer takes place before the water is used) of the engraving depicting Hornhausen in Merian's *Theatrum Europaeum*: "Eigentliche Delineatio des Dorffs Hornhausen sampt denen darin entsprungenen Heylbronen Im Jahr 1646," in Matthäus Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum* (Frankfurt am Main: 1651), vol. 5, 1078–1079, image 45 (http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:384-uba000240-0#1218, accessed 10 June 2020).

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FIGURE 6.3 Title engraving of Friedrich Salchmann, *Historischer Bericht Von den Hornhausischen Gesund-Brunnen* (Halberstadt: 1646), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Pon Yb 4701

a broadsheet about the Hornhausen wells (Fig. 6.4), the text on the lower half of the sheet is in complete accordance with the Lutheran clergymen's view of miracle wells. The image above, however, is somewhat more ambiguous. A large figure of Christ is hovering in the clouds above Hornhausen. Three of the miracle wells are connected to his mouth ("the Word") by three strong rays which have Bible verses written on them. They read from right to left: Matt. 11:28: "Come unto me, all who are weary and whose load is heavy; I will give you rest"; Isa. 12:3: "With joy you will all draw water from the well of deliverance"; and 2 Cor. 12:9: "But his answer was: 'My grace is all you need: power is most fully seen in weakness.'"[34] With these rays and the texts, the image reaffirmed the connection between God's Word, his grace, and the miracle wells, thereby upholding and confirming the Lutheran understanding of the wells. This conclusion would easily be drawn by a literate person.

However, individual rays also connect the wounds on Christ's body with the smaller Hornhausen wells. As a result, the image was open to other interpretations, especially by illiterate observers. The healing water could be associated with Christ's blood and while this could be a reference to the real presence of Christ according to the Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist, the visual representation was vague and could therefore also be understood as a form of

34 Quotations from *The Revised English Bible* (Cambridge: 1989).

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Eigentlicher und warhaftiger abriß
des dorffes Hornhausen / und dero Heil-Brunnen /
die GOtt der allmächtige / uns armen sündhaftigen menschen zur heilung unsers gebrechlichen leibes
geschencket und verehret hat / welche Ihn hertzlich darum anruffen / die sollen und werden durch dieses wassers kraft
und macht von allen gebrechen ihres leibes gesund und heil / wie weiter
davon zu lesen ist.
Erklärung der buchstaben:
A Die Kirche dieses Dorffs.
B Der Thurn / darbey die Gassunden gehalten werden.
C Der Heil-Brunn.
D Der Johannis-Brunn / welcher am tage Johannis entsprungen.
E Marien-Brunn.
F Holländer-Brunn.
G Perlen-Brunn.
H Alte feinerne Thor-weg / von der Edelfrauen wohnung aus.
I Der adelichen Frauen von Bemsleck Wohnhaus.
K Alte Klosster.
L Der Krug oder Schencke.
M Die Gehrliche / deren sonsten noch mehr.
N Die Mühle.
O Die Gegelte und Hüten worinnen die leute sich aufhalten.
P Der Gotts-kasten / worinnen das geld für die armen eingelegt wird.
Q Das Wasser so durch das dorff fleusst.
R Der Morast vorm Kruge oder Schencke.
Gedruckt im jahr Christi 1646.

FIGURE 6.4 *Eigentlicher und warhaftiger abriß des dorffes Hornhausen* (n.p.: 1646), Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Baln. 350

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transubstantiation in which the substance of the healing water was changing into the blood of Christ. On a more basic level, the healing water could be construed as a sacred object because it was directly connected to Christ and seems to flow out of his wounds.

Lutheran miracle wells thus functioned in the context of negotiations between the laity, who had an affinity toward sacramentalism, and the clergy, who accepted the wells as miraculous, but who tried to keep these miracles within the confines of the basic tenets of the Lutheran faith.[35] Lutheran clergy warned people not to "honor the well as god" or give any credit to saints and they were eager to stop what they considered superstitious (or Catholic) attitudes and practices at the wells. At the same time, they remained keen to give these wells and their perceived miracles a Protestant definition and therefore emphasized that the miraculous healing powers of the waters came directly from God and God alone. For example, an anonymous pamphlet about Hornhausen emphasized that the healing qualities of the wells were due to "God's bottomless and glorious mercy, merciful effect and effective miraculous hand."[36]

The complaints of the Lutheran clergy about popular perceptions and practices that they observed at the miracle wells were rather typical sixteenth- and seventeenth-century criticisms of popular religiosity as superstitious and/or Catholic.[37] Their concern raises the question of how we can gauge the depth and spread of the Lutheran understanding of miracle wells in contemporary society. Starting in the early seventeenth century, a constant string of short and medium-length pamphlets about Lutheran miracle wells was published in German. Some of these pamphlets indicate that educated laymen like teachers served as important multipliers of the clerical interpretation of these wells.[38] For example, David Lange, a teacher at the German school in Hamburg, wrote about a miracle well in the principality of Dannenberg in 1612. His pamphlet

35 For more details on this question, see Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Lutherische Pfarrer, Wunderbrunnen und Volksreligiosität: Aneignungs- und Vermittlungsprozesse im europäischen Vergleich," in *Entfaltung und zeitgenössische Wirkung der Reformation im europäischen Kontext—Dissemination and Contemporary Impact of the Reformation in Europe*, eds. Irene Dingel and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Gütersloh: 2015), 197–213.

36 "GOttes grundlose und wunderbare Barmhertzigkeit/ barmhertzige Wückung und würckende wunder-Hand." *Unvergreiffliches und wolmeynendes Guttachten/ von dem neuentsprungenen Heil-Brunn zu Hornhausen in NiederSachsen/ Ob desselben Kräffte allein von den inwohnenden Mineralien oder aber von einer mit-würckenden Göttlichen Wunderkrafft herkommen. Gestellet durch Der Wahren Medicin Dienern* (n.p. 1646), A2.

37 See Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, esp. 190–201.

38 In the examples below, I am using the term "educated" to denote that a person was able, at a minimum, to read and write in German at an advanced level.

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clearly stated the central beliefs and representations associated with Lutheran miracle wells. Throughout the work, he emphasized God's almightiness and grace and warned visitors to the well not to disregard God's miracles. He also directly associated the principle of *sola fide* with the miracle well: "He who believes in the well and God's help will be healed; but he who does not believe will stay as he is. Those who come to the well and scoff at it through their unbelief will be doomed."[39] Lange's work, and others like it, demonstrates that educated laypeople internalized the Lutheran interpretation of miracle wells and attempted to inform the populace as to the theological significance of the wells and the proper deportment and interpretation of their healing miracles.

In contrast to Lutheran miracle wells, Catholic holy wells at pilgrimage sites catered directly to the laity's need for sacramentals and provided flexibility to the faithful in their interactions with the wells. While the Lutherans stipulated that prayer precede the use of the healing water, the adaptable Catholic worship practices at holy wells enabled the laity to interact with both the miraculous water and the saint in various ways. Although the story of Caspar Kistler's son cited above demonstrates a miracle at a distance, most accounts are about finding an immediate cure for more common illnesses. Among the 94 cures listed for 1658, Krieger described, for example, how Paulus Mayr, a citizen from Kösching, suffered from severe toothache and tried different remedies without success. When he took a sip of the cold water of the Saint Wenceslaus well, however, he found that he did not feel any pain, a welcome contrast to normal cold water which his teeth could not endure. Soon, his toothache went away, or, as Krieger recorded in the miracle book, "his pain took a vacation" (*aller Schmerz urlaub gnommen*).[40]

Catholic miracle books listed many variations in how the faithful interacted with a holy well. Sick people came to the pilgrimage site, used the water, and were healed, whereupon they left a votive offering or votive tablet or endowed a Mass. In other cases, someone brought the holy water to a sick person

39 "denn wer an den Brunnen nebenst GOTTes hülffe geleubet wirdt Gesundt/ wer aber nicht gleubet/ bleibet als er ist … Wie viel ziehen wol hin … und spotten denn den Brunnen durch ihren Unglauben/ die müssen verterben." David Lange, *Mirakel und Wunderwerck/ auch Eigentlicher und warhafftiger Bericht: Von einem new erfundenen Brunnen/ so im Lande zu Lüneburg/ unter dem Fürstenthumb Danneberg/ und dero gebietenden Herrschafft/ 3. Meilweges von Saltzwedel/ und 2. Meilweges von Lüchaw gelegen/ etc. welcher durch sonderliche schickung des Allmechtigen GOTTES ist geoffenbaret worden/ auch für allerley Kranckheiten/ damit die Menschen beladen/ es sey gleich Lahm/ Taub oder Stum/ behülfflich unnd dienstlich ist. Sampt einer trewhertzigen Vermahnunge/ an alle frommen Christen: Gestellet Durch Davidem Langium Deutschem Schulmeister in Hamburg* (Hamburg: 1612), A3r–v.

40 Krieger, *Beneficia Oder Gesundtmachung*, 30.

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who, after recovering, endowed a Mass or went on pilgrimage to the holy well. Another possibility was that a sick person pledged to make a pilgrimage, got well enough to travel to the holy well, used the water in situ and was thereby healed completely. The list of possible paths to healing continues.[41] Here, the Catholic theology of works, which emphasized the laity's role in performing actions that led to healing and salvation through the intercession of a saint, provided lay men and women with a wide range of options to shape their relationships with the holy.

In addition to this flexibility with regard to worship practices, the authors of Catholic miracle books were much more open to different conceptualizations of the relationship between the saint and the holy well at a pilgrimage site. In contrast to the Lutheran emphasis on God's grace alone, Catholic authors offered a variety of explanations of how holy wells received their healing qualities. God or the saint could both be construed as the originators of these miraculous powers. For example, the above-mentioned Fortunat Hueber argued within less than twenty pages of his work about the Neukirchen shrine that the miraculous power of the water was "mixed into it by the Queen of Heaven" (*die Himmelskönigin ihnen einmischet*) and that God had "poured the grace of healing [into the water] to honor his Venerable Mother Maria" (*in ansehen seiner würdigisten Mutter MARIA … die gnad der Heylsambkeit … eingegossen*).[42]

This does not mean that the emergence and interpretation of a Catholic holy well was a frictionless event in early modern society as the developments

41 See, for example, *Puteus Aquarum Viventium. Marianischer Brunnenquell/ Oder Kurtzer Außzug hundert Miraculen/ und grossen Gnaden/ welche bey dem Wunderthätigen Gottshauß der Allerheiligisten Dreyfaltigkeit/ und unser lieben Frauen Hülff zu Weichenlinden genandt ins gemain bey dem heiligen Brunnen nächst dem Dorff Högling/ Ayblinger Land-Gerichts/ die andächtige Christen und Pilgramen in allerhand grossen Nöthen/ und Anligenheiten durch Vorbitt der Allerwunderbarlichisten Mutter Gottes empfangen haben. Dannenhero zu schuldigister Dancksagung/ und höherer Verehrung der Jungfräulich: Allerseeligisten Mutter Gottes/ weilen selbe allda noch Täglich ihren Gnaden-Brunnen zu Trost aller betrübten Hertzen/ so reichlich fliessen lasset/ hat sich obligiert befunden der Hochwürdige in Gott Herr/ Herr Gelasius, Probst deß Lobl. Closter Weyars Can. Reg. S. Augustini der Lateranensischen Congregation* (*in deme dero Closter dises Gnadenreiche Gottshauß pleno jure incorporiert ist*) *solchen Marianischen Brunnenquell in offentlichen Truck gehen zulassen/ worzu auch dieselben von dem Hochfürstl. Freysingerischen Ordinariat den genädigisten Consens und Approbation erhalten* (Munich: *c.*1688); Krieger, *Beneficia Oder Gesundtmachung*. See also Walter Hartinger, *Die Wallfahrt Neukirchen bei heilig Blut: Volkskundliche Untersuchung einer Gnadenstätte an der bayerisch-böhmischen Grenze* (Regensburg: 1971), 164–67.

42 Hueber, *Zeitiger Granat-apfel*, 169, 183.

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surrounding the holy well at Schweich in the Electorate of Trier demonstrate.[43] This case provides a sense of the negotiations between the clergy and the laity that happened once a well was alleged to have miraculous healing qualities, and of the precariousness of the resulting attributions. In 1602 a man named Peter claimed that an angel had revealed the healing power of the well and the methods of its application to him in a dream.[44] A popular pilgrimage ensued, and the local priest, whom Johannes Mechtel, a canon in the Limburg cathedral chapter, calls "unlearned" in his chronicle, together with the mayor and the village teacher, started to record the miraculous healings at the well.[45] Mechtel described how "old women" (*alte Weiber*) and "simple priests" (*schlegte Priester*) soon "walked around the sick people at the holy well and imposed a penance on everyone, like praying a certain number of the Lord's Prayer or the Ave Maria."[46] The Archdeacon Bartholomäus Bodogemius of Trier agreed to sign the report by the local officials, which, according to Mechtel, he later "much regretted."[47] After the pilgrimage gained this clerical approval and local officials made plans to institutionalize it by building a chapel, it was discovered that many of the miraculous cures had been shams.[48] While this destroyed all plans for a pilgrimage site in the seventeenth century, a Marian congregation named "Assumption of Mary" revived the holy well at the end of the eighteenth century and successfully established a pilgrimage site, which still continues today.[49] In his chronicle, Mechtel is dismissive of the holy well and attributes its existence to "the populace's superstition and vanity."[50] The examples of the Archdeacon Bodogemius and the local clergyman and secular officials as well as the later Marian Congregation, however, show clearly that official decisions to back a popular holy well and develop it into a Catholic pilgrimage site could go either way.

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43 *Limburger Chronik des Johannes Mechtel*, in Artur Gemmel, *Chronik von Schweich* (Trier: 1960), 73–77.

44 *Limburger Chronik*, 74.

45 *Limburger Chronik*, 75.

46 *Limburger Chronik*, 75.

47 *Limburger Chronik*, 75–76.

48 *Limburger Chronik*, 76–77. Mechtel does not tell us who exposed the cures as shams, but he makes clear that the initial success of the holy well led to a strong social consensus about the healing qualities of the well which even people who were not healed found hard to refute. He also emphasizes that "many great people and lords participated in this folly; therefore we cannot be sure who was the first who said something against it" (76–77).

49 For a comparison, see Alois Döring, "Heiliges Wasser"; Josef Koch, *Die Geschichte des Heilbrunnens und der Heilbrunnenkapelle zu Schweich* (Schweich: 2002).

50 "Aberglauben und Eitelkeit." *Limburger Chronik*, 74.

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While a well-established concept of how to establish a holy well as part of a pilgrimage site existed in early modern Catholicism, the practice of doing so was clearly heavily negotiated. Indeed, the multivalent levels of verification and methods of authentication could cause tensions not only between the laity and the clergy, but also among the clergy and different members of the clerical and secular elites.[51] The establishment of a holy well was, ultimately, an open process in which various actors—local clergy and higher ecclesiastical and secular authorities—may or may not have accepted a popular holy well and agreed to institutionalize it.

At the same time, just as educated Lutheran laity served as multipliers of Lutheran miracle wells, educated Catholic laypeople played an important role in propagating and implementing the Church's official understanding of holy wells. In 1661, for example, one such layman, the harness maker (*Riemer*) Thomas Amplatz, began writing and illustrating a chronicle to record in detail how he had built up the pilgrimage site of Maria Brünnl near Landshut.[52] After his journeymen pointed out the well, Amplatz enclosed it, built a wayside shrine with a small brass plaque of the Virgin Mary and an offertory box, and prayed there with his family (Fig. 6.5). The well quickly became a local pilgrimage site after visitors reported miraculous healings. Later, Amplatz added an altar with a painting of the Madonna and Child above it and a barrel for votive offerings beside it. He also built a wooden chapel around the well. The pilgrimage site received official sanction by the secular authorities when Elector Ferdinand of Bavaria, his family and entourage visited the chapel and holy well in 1663 (Fig. 6.6).[53] Amplatz described this event in detail in his chronicle: "In the year 1663, on April 13, his Electoral Highness [of Bavaria] and his wife, also the previous elector's widow, when they were on their way to Altötting, including all the members of the court, stood at this well and visited this site of worship (before they came I had adorned [the chapel] with burning candles, spread-out rugs, and other embellishments). Then I obediently served his Electoral Highness, our merciful Elector and Lord, [pouring the water] into his golden mug, so that our merciful Lord, his wife, and the previous elector's

51 See also Walter Michel, "Zwei Heilquellen und ihre 'Wunder,'" *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 32 (1980): 61–68.

52 *Chronicle of Thomas Amplatz* in Hans Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl in Berg ob Landshut: herausgegeben zur 300. Wiederkehr des Jahres der Entstehung der Landshuter Marienwallfahrt* (Passau: 1960), 6–20. See also Hans Bleibrunner, "Die Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl bei Landshut, eine Tochterwallfahrt von Passau-Maria Hilf," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken: Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 10 (1968): 29–53; Strauss and Strauss, *Heilige Quellen*, 116.

53 Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl*, 18–20.

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FIGURE 6.5 Drawing from the chronicle of Maria Brünnl near Landshut by Thomas Amplatz, 1661ff., Pfarrarchiv Stadtkirche Landshut, in Hans Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl in Berg ob Landshut: herausgegeben zur 300. Wiederkehr des Jahres der Entstehung der Landshuter Marienwallfahrt* (Passau: 1960), 9

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FIGURE 6.6 Drawing from the chronicle of Maria Brünnl near Landshut by Thomas Amplatz, 1661ff., Pfarrarchiv Stadtkirche Landshut, in Hans Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl in Berg ob Landshut: herausgegeben zur 300. Wiederkehr des Jahres der Entstehung der Landshuter Marienwallfahrt* (Passau: 1960), 19

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widow drank the water of this well." Finally, a stone chapel was built in 1666 and consecrated in 1710.[54]

The case of Thomas Amplatz shows a deep-seated desire on the part of a layman to integrate a holy well into a permanent pilgrimage site. Amplatz was a fairly well-educated artisan—he wrote his own chronicle after all—and he must have had a thriving business because he mentions several journeymen in his chronicle.[55] In addition, he was well-connected with the local authorities and understood the expectations of the official Catholic Church.[56] Thus, he had a clear idea about how to build a pilgrimage site out of a well on the roadside. With the backing of the local clergy and authorities, Amplatz made certain that the holy well was accessible to pilgrims and brought into a spatial relationship with the other material objects related to a saint. In doing so, he stabilized the material and spatial surroundings of the holy well and ultimately established a permanent pilgrimage site.

Catholics and Lutherans across all social groups in early modern Germany shared a fundamental understanding of the supernatural as part of everyday life. This resulted in a basic willingness among members of both confessions to accept miraculous healings at wells. As a result, we can identify official interpretations on both the Catholic and the Lutheran side which shared some assumptions about the relationship of these wells to both the natural and the supernatural world, but which mostly offered opposing interpretations to their flocks. Catholic holy wells were deeply integrated into the representations of saints, and the rituals, images, and spatial structures of their pilgrimage sites. Lutheran miracle wells, in contrast, were constructed as transitory phenomena based entirely on God's grace. Catholic holy wells and Lutheran miracle wells thus exhibit the confessional differences which characterized sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany and which the clergy constantly tried to assert.

Early modern Lutheran miracle wells in particular exhibited a tension between the clergy's attempt to propagate a theologically sound interpretation of the wells and popular demand for sacramentals, but it should be noted that the existence of Lutheran miracle wells and the fact that these wells became an integral part of the Lutheran belief system—both popular and elite—during the early modern period confirms a point first made by Bob Scribner in his work on popular religion in post-Reformation Germany. Scribner argued that the "desacralization" and "disenchantment of the world" that Max Weber attributed to Protestantism simply did not fit the reality of the sixteenth and

54 Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl*, 21.

55 Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl*, 6 and 8.

56 Bleibrunner, *Ursprung der Wallfahrt Maria Brünnl*, 10, 11, and 14.

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seventeenth centuries; rather, many forms of popular religion in which the supernatural and the miraculous played an important role remained part and parcel of Lutheran popular culture after the Reformation. Scribner concluded that in Lutheranism, "the hard-edged sacramentalism of Catholicism was not replaced but modified into a weaker and more ill-defined form of sacrality."[57] More recent research has led to an emerging consensus among scholars that theologians and officials of Lutheranism were willing and able to accommodate popular rituals and beliefs, at least up to a certain point.[58] The support of local Lutheran clergy for miracle wells in their towns and villages bears this out.

Still, early modern Catholicism offered the faithful more flexibility to practice and shape their relationship with the holy. People had a variety of different options to venerate the saint and use the miraculous healing well of a pilgrimage site. In contrast to Lutheran clergy who emphasized God's grace as the origin of their miracle wells and strictly limited the religious rituals performed at the wells, Catholic authors of miracle books offered flexible interpretations of the exact relationship between the saint and the holy well and condoned a wide variety of practices and rituals.

At the same time, the wells were objects of negotiation between the laity and the clergy in both confessions. Catholic and Lutheran clergy, on occasion, condemned what they regarded as the "superstition" of the common people, but they also enthusiastically embraced the miracles worked through their respective wells. Negotiations about these wells certainly occurred between lay and clerical actors on the local level in both Catholic and Lutheran areas, as the examples of Hornhausen and Schweich show. These local actors in turn interacted with higher clerical and secular authorities. Overall, local negotiations and official responses point toward similar dynamics and tensions between the groups involved. In both Catholic and Lutheran contexts, the uneducated local laity and sometimes also clergy interacted with these wells in a way that was generally seen as problematic by the more educated clergy. At the same time educated laypeople, such as David Lange and Thomas Amplatz, largely aligned their actions and interpretations with official attitudes. As such, miracle and

57 Scribner, "Reformation and Desacralisation," 76. See also the overview of recent research in Ute Lotz-Heumann, "The Natural and Supernatural," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: 2016), 688–707.

58 See Dürr, "Prophetie und Wunderglauben"; Beyer, "A Lübeck Prophet"; Bridget Heal, "Images of the Virgin Mary and Marian Devotion in Protestant Nuremberg," in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, eds. Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester: 2002), 25–46, here 32–33; Walsham, "Holywell"; Walsham, "Miracles"; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: 2002); Lotz-Heumann, "Lutherische Pfarrer."

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holy wells exhibit both the shared and the contested religious cultures of early modern Germany.

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Gottes/ mit sonderm Fleiß beschrieben/ Und auff vielfaltiges Begehren zum Druck verfertiget/ Durch Fridericum Salchmanum, Pastorem des Orths. Halberstadt: 1646.

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Unvergreiffliches und wolmeynendes Guttachten/ von dem neu-entsprungenen Heil-Brunn zu Hornhausen in NiederSachsen/ Ob desselben Kräffte allein von den inwohnenden Mineralien oder aber von einer mit-würckenden Göttlichen Wunder-krafft herkommen. Gestellet durch Der Wahren Medicin Dienern. n.p.: 1646.

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Zwo warhafftige newe Zeitung/ Von einem Brunnen/ welchen Gott der Allmechtige aus der Erden hat auffspringen lassen/ in Schlesien bey der Steina/ Zwo meyl weges von der Fürstlichen Stadt Neyß. Und wer des Wassers trincket/ er sey Krumb oder Lahm/ so wird er gesund davon/ Welches viel Hundert Personen probieret haben. Und ist der Brunnen entsprungen in dem grossen Wetter vor Mitfasten/ in diesem Tausendt Sechshundert und andern Jahre. Gesangßweise gestellet. Im Thon: Hilff Gott das mirs gelingt. Die ander Zeitung/ Von Zweyen unterschiedlichen Wettern/ auffs kürtzte Gesangsweise gestellet/ und zu singen. Im Thon/ Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn. Neiße: 1602.

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CHAPTER 7

Distinguishing between Saints and Spirits. Or How to Tell the Difference between the Virgin Mary and Mary the Ghost?

Kathryn A. Edwards

It is well known that saints were central to late medieval Christian society and piety. As advocates, mentors, healers, and guardians, saints were, as Richard Kieckhefer memorably suggested, Christian heroes, models of virtues who transcended mortal flesh and bound heavenly and terrestrial realms.[1] Although the qualities privileged in saints' lives differed between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, saints retained their medieval prominence among early modern Catholics.[2] Despite condemnation of the intercessory system, so central to Catholic appreciation of sanctity, Protestant confessions did not discard the concept of saints either; it was likely inconceivable to do so.[3] Instead, saints' roles were narrowed to models of Christian faith rather than guardians and intercessors. Dead saints no longer engaged with the world unless God gave them permission and He very rarely did so, yet the concept's

1 Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: 1984), 200.

2 See David J. Collins, *Reforming Saints: Saints' Lives and Their Authors in Germany, 1470–1530* (New York: 2008), introduction. For analyses of late medieval sanctity that have influenced this chapter, see Nicolas Balzamo, *Les miracles dans la France du XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris: 2014); Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: 2013), esp. chapters 3, 7, and 9; Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 552–84; Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Washington, DC: 2011); Avid M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: 1992); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (New York: 2005).

3 My analyses of these complications has been inspired by work of Susan Karant-Nunn, which has stressed the challenges facing Reformers in revising common perceptions and rituals. See especially Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (New York: 1997); Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (New York: 2010).

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communalism was not lost. Among some Protestant and Dissenter confessions the term was redefined to signify living members of a godly community.[4]

Saints were not, however, the only dead people who returned to earth in late medieval and early modern Europe. Although less commonly described and more theologically questionable, ghosts regularly haunted Europe.[5] As manifestations of dead people that the living perceived when awake and in a normal state of consciousness, ghosts could be dead souls sent from heaven, returned from purgatory, or trapped on earth.[6] Their apparition represented a "normal exception," an event that was unusual but plausible and that a person might experience personally or know of second- or third-hand. As normal exceptions, direct experience of saints and ghosts could be similar, but that was not their only commonality. In fact, some early modern Catholic writings portray both saints and ghosts as revelatory testaments to divine grace and Christian truths.[7] For example, the *Discours et Histoires* of Catholic lawyer and royal councilor Pierre Le Loyer (1605) integrated both saints and ghosts in over

4 See Alexandra Walsham, "Skeletons in the Cupboard: Relics after the English Reformation," *Past and Present* 206 (2010): 121–43; Euan Cameron, "Saints, Martyrs, and the Reformation," *Church History* 85 (2016): 803–9; Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany* (New York: 2007); Carol Piper Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517–1531* (Kirksville, MO: 2003); Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: 2004).

5 For famous fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century hauntings, see Adrian de Montalembert, *La merveilleuse histoire de l'esprit qui depuis n'agueres cest apparu au monastere des religieuses de Saint Pierre de Lyon* (Paris: 1528); Claude Lecouteux, ed. and trans., *Dialogue avec un revenant* (Paris: 1999); Jean Gobi, *Dialogue avec un fantôme*, ed. Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: 1994). The pioneering work on apparitions in medieval France is Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, trans. Teresa Lavander Fagan (Chicago: 1998). Recent publications in the French context respond to his ideas and expand the treatment of ghosts chronologically, especially that of Timothy Chesters, *Ghost Stories in Late Renaissance France: Walking by Night* (New York: 2011); Caroline Callard, *Histoire des fantômes: l'Ancien Régime de la spectralité, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (New York: forthcoming).

6 The apparition of a ghost was different from a dream or vision, although they could have similarities. See Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, esp. ch. 2; Nancy Caciola, *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: 2016), ch. 6. Ghosts could also have characteristics and purposes similar to modern ideas about zombies and ghouls.

7 See Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (Paris: 1613); Pierre de Lancre, *L'Incredulité et mescreance du sortilège plainement convaincu* (Paris: 1622); Pierre le Loyer, *Quatre livres des spectres ou apparitions et visions d'esprits, anges, et demons* (Angers: 1686); Pierre le Loyer, *Discours et histoires des spectres, visions et apparitions des esprits, anges, demons, et ames, se monstrans visibles aux hommes* (Paris: 1605); Pierre Boaistuau, *Histories prodigieuses et memorables* (Paris: 1576); René Du Pont, *La Philosophie des esprits*, ed. Mathieu le Heurt, 3rd ed. (Rouen: 1628); Noël Taillepied, *Traité de l'apparition des esprits ou apparitions et visions d'esprits, anges, et demons* (Paris: 1588).

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1,000 pages analyzing the many forms all types of human spirits assumed and their place in creation. Le Loyer was far from alone.[8]

Using vernacular French writings about ghosts and saints from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this chapter describes the ways saints and ghosts—the glorious and the ambiguous—were linked in French Catholic thought. Beginning with the qualities they shared, it traces the areas of tension and, eventually, opposition. In the process, it argues that faith in saints and ghosts existed on a continuum of belief that made a challenge to one a threat to an entire belief structure. To deny the existence of ghosts meant to deny that of saints, despite centuries of empirical evidence and their much clearer place in Christian soteriology. Debates over the status of ghosts had to assert their existence or redefine the meaning of saints and condemn apparitions of the dead as demonic. The Protestant challenge to saints and ghosts and Catholic responses to it must be seen in these terms. To suggest how this worked in confessional debates and the difficulties reformers faced, this chapter concludes with an analysis of the most influential Protestant interpretation of ghosts in early modern France and the most thorough Catholic response. While Huguenot and other Protestant reformers generally denied the existence of ghosts in their programmatic writings, the integration of ghosts and saints in a continuum of belief that they explicitly accepted meant that their challenge could only be half-hearted at best.

1 Tracing the Continuum: Similarities between Ghosts and Saints

Ghosts and saints are found in a wide variety of French literature from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Aside from oral accounts, for which we only have indirect written records, the most important texts fall into two general categories. The first comes from the exempla tradition, that is, texts such as exempla themselves, vitae, and monastic legendaries, all of which provided material for sermons and pastoral needs. These texts could be ancient and, as such, perpetuated earlier ideas. For example, although late antique Christian theologians condemned pagan obsession with ghostly spirits, in Gregory the

8 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, connects ghosts, saints, and demons with figures like dwarves, Melusine, and arial spirits while Boaistuau is part of a six-volume collection about such beings and their "marvellous" actions. Other such French-language collections from this time that integrate ghosts and saintly apparitions include Pierre Crespet, *Deux livres de la hayne de Sathan et malins esprits* (Paris: 1590); Simon Goulart, *Histoires admirables et memorables de nostre temps*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1606–7); Pierre Nodé, *Declamation contre l'erreur execrable des maleficiers* (Paris: 1578).

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Great's *Dialogues* both ghosts and saints appear to communicate messages to the living, and his text decisively shaped medieval and early modern exempla. Early modern Catholic texts commonly had both saints and purgatorial souls testifying to the wonders of heaven and terrors of purgatory respectively, as did Sister Alis when she haunted her Lyonnais convent for four months in the early 1520s.[9] Franciscan Noel Taillepied draws on this tradition when he connects saints and ghosts in the first chapters of his challenge to Guillaume Farel and other Protestant leaders, *A Treatise of Ghosts*.[10] Even early Protestant sermon collections were indebted to these earlier texts, which enabled the continued dissemination of "suspect" ideas.[11]

The second category is the legal or bureaucratic tradition in which most of the Catholic authors discussed here were trained. The obvious documents in this category are the detailed inquests and vitae accompanying canonization processes, but ghosts also appeared in trial and other official records.[12] While moral and literary conventions doubtlessly influenced such texts, those conventions did not prevent readers and hearers from recognizing their lived experience—verisimilitude was essential for effective accounts—and premodern readers were not gullible.[13] For example, witnesses for St. Vincent Ferrer's canonization inquests insisted that they knew how a dead person looked and how to test for death; they were not dupes![14] Authors writing about the revenant dead were under similar pressures. Taillepied exemplifies the influence of common knowledge when he discusses Luke 24:37 and its confirmation of ghosts' existence: "When then we read that the Apostles thought they saw a Spirit we know that they believed Spirits could appear, and that in those

9 Montalembert, *La merveilleuse histoire*. Also see Kathryn A. Edwards and Susie Speakman Sutch, *Leonarde's Ghost: Popular Piety and "The Appearance of a Spirit" in 1628* (Kirksville, MO: 2008).

10 Taillepied, *Traité*, 5–11. All English translations are from Noel Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, ed. and trans. Montague Summers (London: 1933).

11 John Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: 2009), esp. chs. 1 and 2.

12 Le Loyer, *Discours*, provides detailed discussions of cases involving haunted houses in Bordeaux. See also Callard, *Histoire des fantômes*, ch. 4.

13 See the discussions of how such texts were formed and the problems modern scholars face in attributing meaning to them in Steven Justice, "Did the Middle Ages Believe in their Miracles?" *Representations* 103 (2008): 1–29; Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, 2–14.

14 Laura Ackerman Smoller, "From Authentic Miracles to a Rhetoric of Authenticity," *Church History* 80 (2011): 773–97, here 790–91.

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days, as now, everybody of sense and experience held the opinion that Spirits certainly may and as certainly do manifest themselves."[15]

The ghosts and saints found in these early modern Catholic texts were robustly physical. Pre-modern ghosts could open doors, move furniture, and draw back curtains. Their skirts rustled and heels clacked. Ghosts and their products could be touched, heard, and seen, demonstrating their presence to and interest in the material world. Saints, too, were experienced synthetically post-mortem, and like Jesus they proved their truth through touch and left impressions on earthly objects. Both ghosts and saints also experienced senses after death. Some saints complained about latrines being too close to their tombs, while others bemoaned their inability to work miracles because their hands were tied too tightly to their sides.[16] While saints were not expected to be beautiful, a defining quality of sanctity was the way in which spiritual illumination and the beatific vision transfigured the saintly body. One sign of sanctity was how a body ravaged by illness or asceticism revealed its inner nature at the moment of death. Ghosts, too, bore signs of their spiritual status on their form. For example, purgatorial souls generally showed their suffering through a flaming halo, torn clothing, or carbonized skin.[17] For living people, the sensory nature of ghosts and spirits made them perceptible and was central to classifying and personalizing them.[18]

How this process worked is thoroughly demonstrated in a large text from the mid-seventeenth century. The Provincial General of the Franche-Comté's Discalced Carmelites, Albert de Saint-Jacques, commented on and translated into French a Spanish text extensively annotated by Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. It chronicled the apparition of over 150 different souls to the Discalced Carmelite Francisca del Santissimo Sacramento in 1629.[19] For Palafox, Saint-Jacques, and Sister Francisca, spirits' physicality, tactility, and sensory effects were key to determining their nature. The spirits appeared to Francisca as real entities; they were far from transparent or diaphanous. They had fully human bodies and wore clothes appropriate to their mortal status.

15 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 157.

16 Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 535–36; Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints," 554; Ronald C. Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (New York: 1981), 40–60, here 52.

17 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 438.

18 Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 1 summarizes debates over saintly miracles. Also see Balzamo, *Les Miracles*, esp. ch. 3.

19 Albert de Saint-Jacques, trans., *Lumiere aux vivans par l'experience des morts* (Lyon: 1675). See the brief biography of Saint-Jacques in Edwards and Sutch, eds. and trans., *Leonarde's Ghost*.

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Even though people "leave life nude," they were reclothed.[20] The tactile nature of the experience of ghosts also appeared in cases where the living and the dead touched. For example, a skeptical observer placed his hand in that of a spirit and was burned by Purgatory's fires. Such tactility also suggested truthfulness. If a soul's form was obscured, the observer presumed it was a demon.[21]

Such relationships with the living were fundamental to definitions of sanctity and post-mortem legitimacy more generally. In this sense, they epitomized the community of the living and the dead that the late John Bossy so convincingly described.[22] Both saints and ghosts conversed with, gave help to, and made demands of the living. Those most likely to be their first percipients—the people who perceived them—were those with whom ghosts and saints had close, personal ties in life. The dead preserved both their personal qualities (impatience, warmth, etc.) and those associated with their mortal profession and social status: an auditor dressed and acted like a judicial official, a nun like a nun. In the case of saints, that could involve wearing their order's robes or showing the expected combination of confidence and humility. Percipients cared about a ghost's social status, too, condemning dishonesty and impiety more strongly among those who were of lower status, such as the candle seller who cheated Francisca's convent and who returned to ask for prayers.[23]

French Catholic authors stressed the communal nature of such bonds for both ghosts and saints. Taillepied and Le Loyer found it reasonable and natural that the dead would ask for leave to visit their relatives and stay interested in worldly affairs.[24] Both the sanctified and unsanctified dead cared about their communities and the people they left behind as well as the honor shown to them and theirs.[25] Like social bonds among the living, such relationships were expected to be reciprocal. If a person's prayers led to a soul's release from purgatory, that soul was expected to become a personal intercessor in heaven; if a town paid special veneration to a saint, that saint was expected to protect that town.

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20 Saint-Jacques, *Lumiere aux vivans*, 48, 269, 325–27, 340. Palafox specifies that this "reclothing" is with virtues, gifts, and graces, but skirts, tights, and hats also appear. He does not say where and at what stage either form of "reclothing" occurs.

21 Saint-Jacques, *Lumiere aux vivans*, 286–88, 290, 345–55, 492.

22 John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (New York: 1985), esp. Part 1.

23 Saint-Jacques, *Lumiere aux vivans*, 87, 448–52.

24 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 95; Le Loyer, *Discours*, 565, 585, 609, 648. For the increased importance of personal ties in late medieval writings about saints, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 133–34.

25 Some Catholic treatises declared that blessed spirits should not experience "sadness, anger, fear, envy, and all other perturbations of the spirit." Du Pont, *La Philosophie des esprits*, 146v.

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Yet these relationships were not always benign. While modern audiences tend to assume saints are good and ghosts are bad, premodern percipients faced much more ambiguous beings and complicated qualities of goodness. Late medieval and early modern ghosts certainly terrified and injured human beings, but being troublesome or evil was not a fundamental part of a ghost's nature: to paraphrase the Celestine Pierre Crespet, when a soul is good, then it is benign at all stages in its existence, living or dead. It does not cause trouble; in fact, it urges the people to whom it appears to do what is necessary for their health and deliverance.[26] Just as ghosts were not always malicious, a saintly apparition might seem far less benevolent than one might expect. Saints punished criminals, killed the unrepentant, corrected the impious, and made their clients' opponents suffer. Such actions could make saints seem positively malicious compared to purgatorial souls whose desperation for intercession only led them to prevent their percipient from sleeping.[27]

Whether benevolent or brutal, apparitions of ghosts and saints were generally interpreted as testifying to Christian truths. Early modern French Catholics wrote about ghosts who stressed the importance of the sacraments, need for proper burial, and expectations the deceased could legitimately have of heirs. According to Pierre de Lancre, the famous Bordelais jurist and witchhunter, such souls could also return to attack heretics and unbelievers.[28] Although the truths saints made manifest might seem more spiritual and less social than those of ghosts, that would be an over-statement. Post-mortem apparitions of saints were unlikely to sermonize on, for example, the real presence or the definition of the miraculous. They acted among the living, and their spiritual testimony was founded on deeds and decrees. If anything, the apparitions of purgatorial souls, suffering as they were for committing sins, were just as, if not more, likely to occasion such testimony. The only action purgatorial ghosts could normally take was to plead for intercession, and in their pleas they described a generally orthodox, Catholic, Christian doctrine.

The truths both saints and ghosts particularly affirmed were God's power and purposes. Fundamental to the pre-Reformation and early modern Catholic perception of sanctity was the saint's ability to channel divine grace and influence; to be considered saints, individuals had to heal, protect, and punish. Saints saved humans from their own sinful nature.[29] Although knowledge of

26 Crespet, *Deux livres de la hayne de Sathan*, 201r.

27 Saint-Jacques, *Lumiere aux vivans*, 283.

28 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 397.

29 For one example of this genre, see *Histoire admirable et veritable des choses arrives en la ville de Mons en Hainault* (Paris: 1585).

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and autonomy in manifesting God's will distinguished saints and ghosts, both spirits were only extant and legitimate because of divine will.[30] In the late medieval Church and Catholic confessional debates, ghosts and saints testified to the truth of God's representative institution on earth and its doctrines. For example, Taillepied described ghosts coming back to request help or changes to their burial site. In one case, a Huguenot woman returned to her husband to complain that she had been buried in the traditional family plot, that is, in Catholic, consecrated ground. Although her family and the local priest had allowed this burial site, the Huguenot wife insisted that she be disinterred and buried in a site reserved for Huguenots. For Taillepied, even the Huguenot dead recognized their place and had to be buried properly to rest. They accepted the legitimacy of divinely established institutions and divisions.[31]

Because the testimony of ghosts and post-mortem saints was potentially so influential, their apparitions required testing.[32] Percipients were instructed to look for aversion to holy objects and signs of demonic impersonation, such as sulfuric smells and cloven hooves. They questioned ghosts and saints about pious practices and doctrines underlying them. Some theologians were unsure about how far the senses underlying these methods could be trusted, but they generally agreed that they were the only means for humans to gather information. Despite these uncertainties, both clergy and laity appreciated and made what they perceived to be clear distinctions between the natural and supernatural on the basis of social knowledge, that is, knowledge gained from a community's preconceptions, perceptions, and interpretations.[33] Some of this manifested as daily experience, such as knowing what a corpse looks like. Others were based on medical diagnoses of melancholia and presumed professional and gendered propensities.[34]

30 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 130.

31 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 75–77.

32 See Nancy Caciola and Moshe Sluhovsky, "Spiritual Physiologies: The Discernment of Spirits in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Preternature* 1 (2012): 1–48. This summarizes the arguments found in their two excellent monographs: Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: 2003); Moshe Sluhovsky, *"Believe Not Every Spirit": Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: 2007).

33 Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints," 565–66; David Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, as paraphrased in Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul* (Washington, DC: 2001), 247n4.

34 "If anyone relates a ghost story before them or if the general talk turns on phantoms and apparitions very often women and children are afraid to leave this room lest they should encounter some spectre in the passage, and if they hear a sudden noise they are sure that a bogie is after them." Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 23.

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An example of the integration of traditional discernment practices and contemporary medical theories in understanding apparitions is in Taillepied's *Treatise*.[35] There he devoted six chapters to the people most likely to experience ghostly visitations and the ways of testing both those individuals and the spirits themselves. He began with a link to mental illness and unbalanced humors, and in chapter 5 considered the strengths and weaknesses of the human sensorum. Once he demonstrated that senses could determine truth, he described the ways people tricked others into believing they had seen ghosts. He found such deceptions successful because they shared the qualities and circumstances God had established for legitimate ghostly and saintly apparitions. Taillepied stressed that reputable and sane men could see actual apparitions and the environment mattered, arguing that spirits throve in remote places, late nights, and "unspoiled Nature," and the people who frequented them were likely to see exceptional things.[36] Only after Taillepied had laid out these principles did he develop the techniques for ascertaining good from evil spirits. In his use of the generic term "spirit" and his insistence on shared characteristics for all good spirits—inspiring awe and reverence, appearing in a pleasing and comforting form, and only saying things that were in keeping with God's word—Taillepied demonstrated the place saints and ghosts shared on a continuum of belief.

2 Tracing the Continuum: Ghosts and Saints Diverge

While both saints and ghosts might affirm God's purposes, the clarity and consistency with which they did so varied. Ghosts certainly protected and punished, just as saints, but authors more commonly stressed that ghosts did so only with God's permission. Moreover, ghosts generally had little thaumaturgical or curative role, and both were seen as essential for saints. Le Loyer made the different purposes of saints and ghosts deceptively clear: saints came to help and console people, while ghosts came to ask for consolation.[37] In practice, however, ghosts could return to save their heirs or have their heirs help them; ghosts could identify criminals, warn against incipient floods, and council individuals about their fate, all activities that saints often did, too. It could

35 For an exploration of the medicalization of discernment of spirits and its subversion of traditional demonology, see Ismael Del Olmo, "'But Who Can Assure Himself Not to be Deceived in Matters Concerning Spirits?' Discernment as Anti-Demonology in Late Sixteenth-Century Europe," *Sixteenth Century Journal* (forthcoming).

36 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 38, 94.

37 Le Loyer, *Discours*, 620.

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be argued that ghosts' revelations were generally selfish, designed to right crimes committed against the ghost itself, while those of a saint aided the entire Christian community. Yet ghosts' activities could also be seen as benefiting the community—getting rid of a murderer was not a bad thing, after all—and neither Protestant nor Catholic could deny that ghosts acted with God's permission.

The real distinctions made in French Catholic texts were over motivations and consequences. In those areas, ghosts could seem more random. While both ghosts and saints could injure the living in pursuit of an ostensibly greater good, ghosts seemed more likely to do so and to affect those who had no clear connection to them or their goals. Lancre told a series of stories that demonstrate this ghostly characteristic. In one case a ghost appeared whenever someone living in the castle was about to die. It did not cause the death; it was merely an omen. In a second case, a rich man died, but his ghost wandered throughout his town and embraced those who had been his friends. Some died soon after; others suffered a lingering illness.[38] A contemporary French pamphlet told a similar story. In the diocese of Chartres an unidentified spirit lived with a "bourgeois" for months. It yanked food from his hands, made it look as if his house was on fire, and tore apart the rooms in his home. Unfortunately the pamphlet is silent about how it ended, possibly because it only serves as a preamble to another account of a Parisian spirit.[39] In all cases, the spirit was identifiable as human (often as someone well-known and recently deceased) but with mysterious purposes. These actions were not ascribed to demons. Whether its cruel or frightening acts would eventually lead to benefits, no one could tell. Lancre, along with Taillepied, Le Loyer, and other authors, never described saints behaving in such ways.

The distinct sensory experiences inspired by saints and ghosts suggest other areas in which the two beings began to diverge, even among early modern French Catholics. Ghosts rarely left their percipients feeling transcendent, whereas those who perceived saints could often attest to a spiritual blossoming. Certainly ghosts returned to earth to thank their intercessors, but ghosts were not sanctified. As with ghosts, people could be afraid or overwhelmed when a saint appeared, but rarely did all but the most sinful have the consistent fear that some, like Sister Francisca, had in the presence of purgatorial souls. Saints could cause death, with God's permission, but in response to a fundamental flaw in the percipient's soul; it was not innate to the saintly presence. A deadly

38 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 369–70.

39 *Histoire prodigieuse nouvellement arrivee à Paris. D'une ieune fille agite d'un Esprit Fantastique & invisible* (Paris: 1625).

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reaction seemed only slightly more likely with ghosts, although at times just seeing one in the distance could lead an otherwise honorable percipient to sicken and die.[40]

Such unpredictability likely contributed to the caution and reverence with which people approached the places associated with the dead. Both ghosts and saints were part of a sacred geography, but it appeared more influential for the late medieval and early modern cult of saints than for ghosts. While a saint was not bound to a specific location, a saint's presence at a site blessed it, especially when relics were there. Saints could manifest anywhere God required, but certain places and events were more likely to lead to their apparition. For ghosts, the field seemed more diverse, as Taillepied stressed: "disembodied Spirits have appeared, as well by day as night, but more often about midnight … they frequently appear on a Friday or a Saturday, and on fasting-days … As to the places where spirits manifest themselves, there are no particular spots. They have been seen and heard in every circumstance."[41] While Taillepied went on to highlight the sinful and liminal spaces of the revenant dead, other texts found ghosts more attached to familiar settings and objects. Most commonly, though, ghosts haunted people. They would follow individuals for miles.

3 Tracing the Continuum: Ghastly Ghosts and Superior Saints

Despite the many common qualities of ghosts and of postmortem apparitions of saints, their place in "the community of the living and the dead" was distinctly different in late medieval Christianity and early modern Catholicism. Ghosts were decidedly lesser, more selfish, and more sin-ridden, while saints were presumed to have more noble qualities and divine benediction. Even if it was not always obvious to the percipients and their community on earth, saints embodied the seven gifts of the holy spirit. While ghosts could share in these characteristics, they often had indulged, or continued to indulge, in at least one of the seven deadly sins. By definition, saints were holy people, heroes, and exemplars; such morality did not define ghosts. A ghost returned

40 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*. Lancre is unusual in that he links spiritual ravishment and the odor of sanctity to blessed souls or others in heaven, souls in purgatory, and souls who are damned (393). Even the great Protestant theorician of ghosts, Ludwig Lavater, tells about such unpredictable deaths, but he uses them as evidence for his claim that ghosts are actually devils. The standard modern English edition is Ludwig Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirites Walking by Nyght* (*1572*), eds. J. Dover Wilson and May Yardley (Oxford: 1929), 216–17.

41 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 97–98.

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because it had sinned—witness the many apparitions of purgatorial souls—or because it suffered through no apparent fault of its own. Saints interceded for the living.

Even ghosts' means of asking for intercession could be unfathomable. Taillepied described a recent haunting in the countryside near Boulogne-sur-Mer where a noble woman was attacked by a spirit claiming to be her step-mother. When the woman ignored the ghost, it grabbed her infant son and threw him into the fire. The woman rescued her child but continued to ignore the ghost because she assumed it was a demon, something its attack on her son made plausible. After months of such events, it became clear that the ghost was her step-mother who had committed suicide when she was mentally disturbed, a condition that mitigated the usual penalties against suicides. Once this identification was confirmed, the woman and others performed the necessary penances and the ghostly step-mother was released from purgatory. Even once all was complete, there was no gratitude, acknowledgment of spiritual kinship, or testimony about God's purposes or other moral lessons, as would have been expected from a saintly apparition. The ghost came, destroyed, revealed, and departed, all for apparently selfish ends.[42] Purposeless and amoral, such ghosts abrogated their place in the community of the living and the dead.

Ghosts and saints also differed in how they were believed to approach, or have approached, one of the key transitions in human life: death. Saints were expected to die a good death that conformed to the many manuals produced in late medieval and early modern Europe to guide the pious. Saints were humble when approaching their maker; they accepted suffering, continued to instruct those at their bedside, and remained peaceful and confident to the end. Even when saints died horribly, as with the early Christian and new confessional martyrs, they approached martyrdom in a way that made it into the ultimate good death.[43] Ghosts epitomized the consequences of a poor death. They had made weak provisions for debts or suffrages, allowed the wrong people to guide them, and died inadequately confessed or repentant. Although theologically such deeds would not lead to a soul remaining on earth, it was commonly believed that they might remain at their burial site for up to seven days and those who had died poorly might find it impossible to depart. In this sense, ghosts were fundamentally different from saints. Saints were saved and blessed; ghosts were neither, although they might become so.

42 Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 101.

43 Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 417; Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints," 558. For the concept of a good death, see Hélène Germa-Romann, *Du 'bel mourir' au 'bien mourir'* (Geneva: 2001).

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Probably the most significant difference between ghosts and postmortem apparitions of saints was that saints performed miracles and ghosts did not. According to late medieval canonization processes that informed the early modern texts studied here, canon lawyers specified that a saint's miracles should be "'from God and not from some skill'; 'contrary to nature'; 'from the merit of the person'; and 'tending to strengthen the faith.'"[44] While theologians might parse distinctions between marvels and miracles and stress that the power and grace saints wielded were actually divine, most people did not care about the power's source when it came to the event itself. They cared that a certain saint had been asked for help and something beneficial had occurred.[45] Accounts of saints protecting and healing their followers filled exempla, vitae, and canonization records. While many accounts are of the saint doing such deeds while alive or without a visual or tangible postmortem apparition, in others spirits of saints actually appeared, removed signs of impending death, then healed the supplicant.[46]

While the appearance of a ghost could seem miraculous, they were not conduits for God's grace like saints. Even those authors who clearly connected saints and ghosts distinguished between them in this area. For Taillepied, Lancre, and others, ghosts could theoretically be involved with miracles because God could choose whatever tool He wanted, but they presented ghostly apparitions as marvelous or prodigious, not miraculous. While ghosts did marvelous acts, such as disappear or float into trees, and testified to divine power and providence, by definition they could not overturn natural laws. Saints respected God and, in the process, violated the dictates of His creation only with divine permission and grace. Ghosts were unworthy of such grace.

Ghosts' unpredictability and liminal place among the dead likely accounted for one of the most striking differences between saints and ghosts: the fear they aroused. Ghosts eventually caused fear among all, even the skeptics, while saints inspired reverence and awe among most and triggered fear only among the irredeemably corrupt. Le Loyer and Lancre cited a series of cases brought before courts in Bordeaux, Tours, and Paris where renters tried to break leases because the property was haunted.[47] Neither author denied such cases were plausible and even cited the famous classical stories of Athenodorus's haunted house and Plutarch's haunted baths as proof. Some courts found for the renter, others for the landlord. Both authors found it completely plausible that the

44 Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, 335.

45 Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 463.

46 Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 23.

47 See Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 6; Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 385–95.

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dead could return and "purge themselves in a certain place … Sometimes it happens that God wants that they expiate their sins and pay the penalty at the same place where they contracted them."[48] In these cases, ghosts were frightening in part because of the spirit's inscrutability. Lancre even gave one example where a house was uninhabitable for over forty years.[49] They also considered such hauntings as dangerous because "the natural antipathy between life and death" could trigger a fatal reaction in the percipient.[50] These qualities in and consequences of ghosts led late medieval authors and their Catholic descendants to blur the distinction between ghostly and demonic apparitions. This blurring would form the cornerstone of the challenge to ghosts among Protestant reformers.

4 A Failed Revision: Protestant Sanctity and the Revenant Dead

The argument that ghosts and saints coexisted as part of a continuum of belief where one could not be fully understood without appreciating attitudes towards the other might seem to collapse with the Protestant Reformation when some theologians redefined the relationship of humanity to sanctity, the occult, and even transcendence. Yet, as the previous section suggests, such transformations occurred within early modern Catholicism as well. Among those authors, the increased possibility of spirits being devils did not lead to a sudden or wholesale change in relationships between the revenant dead and the rest of the supranatural continuum. To explore such confessional distinctions and their effect on beliefs about the dead, this section analyzes the response of French Catholics, especially that of Pierre Le Loyer, to the earliest authoritative Protestant attack on ghosts' existence: Ludwig Lavater's *Von Gespänsten unghüren fallen und anderen wunderbaren dingen* (*Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night*). Although Lavater provided a detailed argument for the diabolization of ghosts, and any other apparition that was not angelic, he also revealed tensions over discarding the fundamental concepts of community and immanence that ghosts and saints embodied. French Catholic authors did not hesitate to point this out either. As such, their debate reveals the extent to which faith in one type of supranatural being depended on the acceptance of others in a continuum that endured during the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Reformations.

48 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 395.

49 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 385. He is silent about why the ghost eventually left.

50 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 442.

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Early in the Protestant Reformation, reformers challenged contemporary conceptions of the cult of the saints, but not the existence of saints themselves. In *Against the New Idols*, Martin Luther opposed papal canonization and the trappings that came with it but said that he accepted the sanctity of figures such as Augustine, Jerome, and Francis.[51] For theologians like Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and Heinrich Bullinger, a saint was a model of Christian behavior and thought, a pillar of the terrestrial Church. Protestant theologians argued that saints were martyrs and should be commemorated in great Protestant martyrologies just as in the early Christian community. They could also be the dead who lived exemplary lives or even the faithful on earth.[52] In redefining "saint," especially its worldly manifestations, saintly intervention by any transcendent being save God became increasingly unlikely and suspicious. When combined with the argument that the age of miracles had passed, saints would lose for Protestant theologians much of what had given them an earthly role in the later Middle Ages and among early modern Catholics.[53]

Protestant reformers also discarded another essential component of late medieval and early modern Catholic piety: the doctrine of purgatory. This rejection was particularly significant for the deceased and their ghosts. Protestant reformers argued that no scriptural foundation existed for purgatory and the intercessionary system evolving out of it was a source of error and corruption. By 1530 Luther condemned purgatory, a position Swiss reformers such as Martin Bucer, Ulrich Zwingli, and Bullinger also accepted. In the French Reformed tradition, Guillaume Farel published the earliest influential treatise in 1543, and John Calvin and Pierre Viret echoed its condemnation of the "false doctrine" of purgatory, especially the elevation of good works and disregard of sanctifying grace. Calvin stressed the connection between relics and the cult of the saints and found them to be "essentially pagan."[54] Instead, Huguenot theologians and ministers stressed the need to trust in God and accept His redemption. As such, the human soul went directly to heaven or hell when the person died (instantaneity). There was no room for ghosts.

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51 Bartlett, *Why can the Dead do such Great Things*, 86; Collins, *Reforming Saints*, 37.

52 Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination* (Oxford: 2012), 37–43. For French Protestants, the defining martyrology was by Jean Crespin, *Histoire des martyrs* (Geneva, 1570), which had seven French editions between 1554 and 1570. The classic work on Crespin is Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Crespin, un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: 1981). An important, recent work is Jameson Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity in Jean Crespin's* Livre des Martyrs (New York: 2017).

53 See Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*; Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary*. Heal and Kreitzer stress the tension between these developments, the practice of the cult of the saints, and the changes between the first and later Protestant generations.

54 Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, 89.

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Yet ghosts did not just disappear among Protestants in the absence of a theological place for them. Pre-Reformation pamphlets, sermons, and other documents discussing the revenant dead continued to circulate and their stories were told in various settings. Even some leading reformers allowed for ghosts. In fact, Melanchthon's willingness to accept them was well enough known that it became a cornerstone for Catholic confessional texts, even in France.[55] Although the return of the dead was tangential to the main theological and ecclesiastical disputes of the Reformation, it touched on key questions for pastoral care and community cohesion: how to support family members, what humans might face after death, and to what extent the natural and supranatural interacted in this world. The activities of saints and ghosts provided valuable answers and comfort in these areas for late medieval Christians and Reformation Catholics. As such, the preparation of a Protestant text which assessed the theological, pastoral, and personal foundations for ideas about the return of the sanctified and unsanctified dead was a pastoral necessity.

In 1569, Ludwig Lavater's *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night* became this text. From the beginning, Lavater made his purpose clear: to revise common beliefs about apparitions of human spirits, particularly but not exclusively those about ghosts. *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night* was widely and quickly translated into Latin, German, French, English, and Italian and reprinted frequently well into the eighteenth century. Although written from a distinctly Reformed perspective, Lutheran, Catholic, and Dissenter authors also cited it—and not just to challenge it. The most common modern interpretation of Lavater is that he relied on a clear spiritual binary: what people call ghosts are actually demons or angels. The percipient may be unable to tell if the apparition is angelic or demonic, but those are the only two options. As such, Lavater has been seen as providing a clear intellectual and pastoral program for his readers, one that was much more difficult in a pre-Reformation or Catholic Reform world where room for ambiguity remained even in some of the most influential theological texts.[56]

55 Lancre, *L'Incredulité*, 379–80; Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 61–62. Both Taillepied and Lancre tell stories about Melanchthon's family experiencing ghosts. Certainly Melanchthon's *De immortalitate animae humanae* allows for the possibility of the dead's spiritual return. While it can be argued that Catholic controversialists wanted to show Protestant leaders in the worst possible light, in these cases, the example of Melanchthon is used more as a reinforcement along the lines of "If this heretic believes, certainly you (the reader) can, too."

56 See Bruce Gordon, "Malevolent Ghosts and Ministering Angels: Apparitions and Pastoral Care in the Swiss Reformation," in *The Place of the Dead*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: 2000), 87–109.

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Before Lavater's text was translated into Latin, a French version was available. Within two years (1571), a more polished and definitive translation came from the Genevan press of François Perrin, and Perrin added three "questions" by Peter Martyr Vermigli on similar subjects.[57] This 1571 French edition of Lavater had a clear Calvinist endorsement, and it became the authoritative French edition, used by Catholics and Calvinists alike. Many of the authors already cited here—Lancre, Taillepied, Crespet, and René Du Pont, for example—explicitly challenged Lavater as did other later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French authors. They saw his work as both rebelling against key aspects of Catholic doctrine and piety as well as contributing to fundamental divisions over the human spirit and its possibilities for transcendence.[58]

The most explicit attack on Lavater was Pierre Le Loyer's *Discours et Histoires des Spectres* (1605). Educated as a lawyer, Le Loyer (1550–1634) served as a royal councilor and councilor at the presidial of Angers, but his first publications were poems and poetry collections. If later biographies are true, Le Loyer spent his spare time studying ancient history and languages to the detriment of his legal work.[59] Although his first surviving publication on the topic of spirits dates from 1586, the 1605 *Discours* was the culmination of two decades of interest in spirits and the supernatural.[60] In the *Discours* he compiled detailed philosophical and theological analyses on human souls, the revenant dead, demons, angels, and many other "immaterial" beings. Most of Book 6 (of 8), "On the Apparition of Specters," is a direct attack on Lavater.

Le Loyer noted at the beginning of Book 6 that the question "about separated souls … isn't one of the smallest in theology" and used the classic demonic descriptor "the great adversary" for Lavater.[61] Le Loyer condemned Lavater for his presumed brevity and lack of erudition and argued that Lavater's method of argument was faulty. Despite his condemnations, Le Loyer's summary of Lavater's actual ideas is quite fair.[62] Le Loyer identified one cornerstone of their disagreement as the theological foundation for purgatory, since that

57 Loys/Ludwig Lavater, *Trois livres des apparitions des esprits, fantosmes, prodiges et accidens merveilleux* (Geneva: 1569).

58 Taillepied's attacks on Lavater were explicit but not as original as Le Loyer: "All those writers who have drunk of the muddy and stinking waters of the Lake of Geneva incline absolutely to deny apparitions and ghosts" and Calvinists are "heretics and ignorant ethnic bigots." Taillepied, *A Treatise of Specters*, 5 & 6.

59 Joseph François Michaud and Louis Gabriel Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et modern*, vol. 25 (Paris: 1820), 322–23.

60 For the abbreviated earlier version, see Pierre Le Loyer, *IIII. Livres des spectres ou apparitions et visions d'esprits, anges et demons* (Paris: 1586).

61 Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 2, 556.

62 Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 2, esp. 563, 571.

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is the most obvious place from where dead souls could come. While Lavater quickly moved from the human to the preternatural (demons and angels), Le Loyer spent much more time parsing the qualities and postmortem fates of humanity, and he stressed that ghosts and saints are linked because of the reverence and care that the church has always had for the dead.[63] He distinguished between souls in heaven (sometimes he used the term "saints," sometimes the less precise *âmes*), souls in purgatory, and souls in hell. All could return to earth. Le Loyer even argued that the damned could come back, albeit with God's permission, and testify that they were damned. He implicitly condemned Lavater and his supporters for challenging God's omnipotence by discounting the possibility of true saintly and human apparitions.[64] For Le Loyer, souls in all three places possessed some autonomy even while working under the umbrella of "God's will." Ostensibly paraphrasing St. Augustine, Le Loyer argued that the dead are not required to be enmeshed in the lives of the living, but they have the ability to be and that the martyrs and other saints in fact have helped and healed many through God's power. Lavater tacitly accepts Protestant orthodoxy that saints almost never return, although divine omnipotence would allow it, and have little interest in human suffering on earth. The revenant dead could do good also, although Le Loyer never considered healings. Instead, he noted that God allows the dead to return to render justice and provided several examples where a ghost is allowed to testify about a murder because the crime had been hidden.[65]

Le Loyer's critiques were effective in part because Lavater himself and his followers cited disputable scriptural authorities and were themselves at times ambiguous in their assessments. The New Testament recounts episodes where the Apostles think that even Christ himself may be an apparition, while in the Old Testament those who denied the possibility of the revenant dead had to contend with the witch of Endor. Lavater's response was to say everyone was mistaken because ancient authors used the word "spirit" as a synonym for "devil." Lavater also allowed for the possibility of ghostly apparitions because to deny them would challenge God's omnipotence. As such, ghosts must be able to exist on earth, even though they were rare and somewhat distasteful: "we have graunted before that God is able to send soules again into the earth, but that it is his will so to do, or that it is necessary especially at these days,

63 Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 2, 598.

64 Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 14, 654–58, 678–82.

65 Le Loyer, *Discours*, Book 6, ch. 15. Pamphlets describing such ghostly activities were apparently popular in both Catholic and Protestant Europe; they are widely found in seventeenth-century England and Lutheran Saxony.

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is not yet prouved."[66] Part 3 especially highlighted potential ambiguities in Lavater's interpretation. When he began that book by asking, "why God suffreth spirites, ghostes, and horrible sightes to appeare. &c. & also why he dothe permitte other straunge and miraculous thynges to happen," Lavater allowed rhetorically for ghosts.[67] He might have equated ghosts in this case with demonic apparitions, but in using *Gespenster*, he required that his reader accept a redefinition of terms which discarded previous associations with that word. In other cases, he simultaneously challenged and relied on those very same past associations, as he did on the next page when he noted how the apparition of *Gespenst* is designed to make men humble and lowly.[68]

5 Conclusion

It could be argued that, in assessing Lavater this way, early modern Catholic authors and myself are making too much out of linguistic remnants, that Lavater's meaning was clear even though language itself had not been reformed enough to express these ideas. I would argue, however, that the tensions in Lavater's language and examples were inherent to both late medieval and Reformation classification and treatment of the revenant dead, whether they be the blessed (saints) or the unpredictable (ghosts). Ghosts and postmortem apparitions of saints need to be seen as part of a continuum of late medieval and early modern beliefs about the natural, preternatural, and supernatural that influenced perceptions about how ghosts and saints interacted with the living, what their physical and spiritual characteristics were, and what their providential role might be. Accounts of ghostly and saintly apparitions gain strength from the other: if it was plausible for the saintly dead to reappear, why couldn't ghosts? If the extraordinary dead continued to be obsessed with this world, why couldn't the ordinary dead be, too? Saints and ghosts needed each other, something that early modern French Catholic sources openly acknowledged. Among Protestants, especially non-theologians, the tensions involved in the denial of saints' worldly activities and ghosts' actual existence remained unresolved in the eighteenth century.[69]

66 Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits*, 146.

67 Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits*, 175.

68 Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits*, 176.

69 Questions by the late Anne Jacobson Schutte inspired the initial thought behind this article, and she would continue to form it just days before her death. For this reason I also dedicate this work to Anne's memory, a shared dedication that I'm sure that her dear friend Susan will also appreciate.

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PART 3

Cultural History and the Religious and Political Self

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CHAPTER 8

Advice from a Lutheran *Politique*: Ambassador David Ungnad's Circular Letter to the Austrian Estates, 1576

James Tracy

David Ungnad was an important though little-known member of an aristocratic clan in the duchy of Styria. The Ungnads, reckoned among families of magnate rank (*Herrenstand*) in the Styrian estates, were known for their military prowess, loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty, and devotion to the cause of Martin Luther. David Ungnad (1530–1603) served as imperial ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1573 to 1578, at a time when the Habsburg dynasty's fortunes in the long struggle against the Ottomans were at a low ebb.[1] The fact that Maximilian II (r. 1564–1576) chose a prominent Lutheran to represent him at the Ottoman court reflected a delicate balance of political and religious imperatives; to hold off the Ottomans, the Catholic Habsburgs needed the full support of a mainly Lutheran aristocracy.[2] After providing a brief background on the Ungnad family, David Ungnad's career, and the position of Austrian Lutherans under Maximilian II, this chapter will discuss Ungnad's long circular letter to the Austrian estates in 1576. As a political document, written by an ambassador in hopes of persuading local aristocracies to support their common sovereign in his hour of need, it is of considerable importance. As an example of how a Lutheran diplomat could speak, between the lines as it were, to an audience familiar with Lutheran sermons, as described by Susan Karant-Nunn it is perhaps even more interesting.[3]

1 James Tracy, *Balkan Wars: Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia, and Venetian Dalmatia, 1497–1617* (Lanham, MD: 2016), Chapters 4 and 5. After much of Hungary was lost to the Ottomans in the war of 1566, Vienna counted on the frail reed of diplomacy to forestall another full-scale invasion.

2 Rudolf Leeb, "Der Streit um den wahren Glauben—Reformation und Gegenreformation in Österreich," in *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Rudolf Leeb, Maximilian Liebmann, Georg Scheibelreiter, and Peter G. Tropper (Vienna: 2003), 145–280.

3 For Lutheran sermons of this period, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: 2010), 75–96.

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1 The Ungnads

The Ungnad family's Lutheran identity can be traced to its most illustrious member, David's uncle, Hans Ungnad von Weissenwolff (1493–1564), Baron of Sonneck, who served for thirty years as elected governor (*Landhauptmann*) of Styria. For more than twenty years, he was also commander of Habsburg forces along the frontier of Hungary and Croatia, facing an expanding Ottoman Empire.[4] In 1530, Ungnad represented Styria at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg; Philipp Melanchthon and the Augsburg Confession so impressed him that he converted at once. Lutheranism was then making rapid progress in the Austrian lands, not just among the aristocracy but also among burghers, partly through commercial contacts in Germany. As early as 1532, a joint meeting of the estates of Austria's six duchies called for freedom to worship according to the Augsburg Confession.[5] Yet Archduke Ferdinand I (1519–64), Charles V's younger brother, refused to abridge Catholicism's status as the sole lawful religion in the Austrian heartland.[6] In the Holy Roman Empire, where, as King of the Romans, he often stood in for Charles, Ferdinand showed more willingness to compromise. In 1552, at a dire moment for the Habsburgs, he struck a bargain with Elector Maurice of Saxony: Maurice promised to send troops to the Ottoman frontier, and Ferdinand promised that members of the Empire would be free to adopt the Augsburg Confession. This agreement provided a basis for the 1555 Peace of Augsburg.

When Austria's provinces proposed to avail themselves of the right to choose their religion, however, Ferdinand insisted that only he, as their lawful sovereign, could be counted as a "member" of the Empire, and thus only he was entitled to make this choice for his subjects.[7] Hans Ungnad resigned from his offices and moved to Wittenberg. In an open letter to Ferdinand and

4 Matthäus Dresser, *Ungnadische Chronika. Darinnen der Herren Ungnaden Ankunfft, Außbreutunge, Reisen, vnd Ritterliche Thaten verzeichnet warden, vom Keiser Cunrad dem dritten, vmbs Jahr Christi 1147. an, biß auff dieses 1601. Jahr, auß den Historien, Monumenten, vnd Vrkunden vber 150. Jahr außgeführet vnd im Druck verfertiget* (Leipzig: 1601) deals mainly with Hans Ungnad and his direct descendants; David Ungnad merits a bare mention. See also Ernst Benz, "Hans von Ungnad und die Reformation unter den Südslawen," *Zeitschrift für Kiechengeschichte* 58 (1939): 387–475; Bernd Zimmermann, "Hans Ungnads Beziehungen zu Reformatoren und Theologen," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 102/103 (1986/1987): 179–91.

5 The six duchies included Lower Austria (Vienna), Upper Austria (Linz), Styria (Graz), Carinthia (Klagenfurt), Carniola (Ljubljana), and Tirol (Innsbruck).

6 Ferdinand was Archduke of Austria from 1519, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1558.

7 Alfred Kohler, *Ferdinand I. 1503–1564* (Munich: 2003), Chapter 8; Leeb, "Der Streit um den wahren Glauben," 194–95.

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the Austrian estates, he explained that conscience did not allow him to abide any longer in a land where true worship was forbidden.[8] He later moved on to Urach in Württemberg, where he supported the publication of Lutheran works in Slovenian and Croatian.[9]

Andreas Ungnad, David's father, was Hans's younger brother. Born in 1530, David was likely baptized a Lutheran.[10] Like others of his rank he pursued a military career, initially as a junior officer on the Ottoman frontier in northeastern Hungary. In 1557 he took time off from war to join his uncle Hans in Wittenberg, where he enrolled at the university. This mature student from a distinguished family became a favorite of his Greek teacher, Melanchthon, who arranged for the younger Ungnad's election as rector of the university in two successive years. During this last period of his life, Melanchthon (d. 1560) hosted for some time a Serbian deacon, an emissary of the Patriarch of Constantinople; he was sent back with a letter from Melanchthon and a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, but neither the deacon nor the *Augustana Graeca* ever reached their destination. Some years later, Ambassador Ungnad would revive his professor's project, bringing with him to Constantinople a Greek-speaking chaplain who carried the *Augustana Graeca*.[11]

During the 1560s, Ungnad fought with Danish forces in a war against Sweden. He also traveled extensively, acquiring more of the nine languages he reportedly spoke.[12] In 1562, he was among the gentlemen chosen to accompany two of Archduke Maximilian's sons, Archdukes Rudolf and Ernst, on their journey to Spain.[13] Back in Vienna, he apparently formed a close friendship with Oghier Ghislain de Busbecq, highly praised for his tour as ambassador at the Porte (1554–62). Under Maximilian II (r. 1564–76), Busbecq became the tutor

8 For the letter, "Deželni Stanovi za Kranjsko," (hereafter as DSK) Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), Ljubljana, No. 216, fasc. 126a, 1st document, 1–54, here 48. See also ARS, DSK 170, fasc. 101a, 1st folder, 2nd document, 1–14, dated Wittenberg, 20 January 1556.

9 Benz, "Hans Ungnad und die Reformation unter den Südslawen."

10 For an account of the Ungnad embassy by his Lutheran chaplain, see *Stephan Gerlach deß Älteren Tagebuch der … an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel Abgefertigten, und durch den Wohlgebohrnen Herrn David Ungnad … Gesandtschafft* (hereafter as *Gerlach*) (Frankfurt: 1674), 241–42, entry for 27 September 1576. As a friend once reminded him, the ambassador was "*Evangelisch geboren*."

11 Wayne James Jorgenson, "The Augustana Graeca and the Correspondence between the Tübingen Lutherans and Patriarch Jeremias: Scripture and Tradition in Theological Methodology" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1979).

12 *Gerlach*; Dresser, *Ungnadische Chronika*. Gerlach mentioned Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Czech, Croatian, and Hungarian (1). His dispatches do not evince the partial knowledge of Turkish mentioned by Dresser (109).

13 *Gerlach*, 241–245, entry for 27 September 1576.

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of the emperor's three sons, including the future Rudolf II.[14] Apart from the professionals of Venice's diplomatic corps, perhaps no European of these decades understood Ottoman ways as well as Busbecq. If Busbecq was the master, Ungnad would prove an apt pupil.[15]

As imperial ambassador at the Porte, Ungnad had a large staff supported by a generous budget.[16] Communication with Vienna was slow at best, and often obstructed by the Ottomans. In Ungnad's time, for example, they regularly intercepted his dispatches, a problem the ambassador dealt with by writing between the lines in lemon juice.[17] An ambassador was expected to develop sources of information among the Sultan's myriads of officials.[18] If he stayed on for some time, as Busbecq and Ungnad did, an ambassador had some latitude to depart from his instructions, as necessity or opportunity might require.[19] He also corresponded with potentates friendly to the Habsburgs such as the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, presumably to convey a Habsburg-tinted view of affairs at the Porte.[20]

Religious matters, in contrast, were relegated to an active private correspondence. Joshua Opitz, the fiery Gnesio-Lutheran provincial preacher (*Landesprediger*) in Vienna, wrote to give Ungnad an account of sermons that had offended Rudolf II. Lord Dietrichstein, a Catholic noble, wrote to ask the ambassador to arrange the purchase of the body of the martyr, Salome, from the Patriarch of Constantinople. Ungnad replied that "My Savior has

14 *Gerlach*, 5. On his journey east Ungnad was accompanied by his two sons, Augerius and Matthias. Augerius, Latin for the Flemish Oghier, would not have been a common name in the Austrian lands.

15 James Tracy, "The Ambassador as Third Party: Buscbecq's Summary Account for the Year 1559," *Acta Histriae* 22 (2014): 195–206 [*Acta Histriae* is devoted to the history of Istria]. For his celebrated *Litterae Turcicae*, an account of the Ottoman court in the form of (fictive) letters to friends, see Ogier Ghiselin van Boesbeek, *Vier brieven over het gezantschap naar Turkije*, ed. Zweder R. W. M. van Martels, trans. Michael Goldsteen (Hilversum: 1994). On Ungnad's embassy, see below, note 19.

16 For Ungnad's funding, including 100,000 *thaler* initially and 7,500 per year, plus expenses, see *Gerlach*, 4, 100.

17 For Ungnad's dispatches, see Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, "Turcica" (hereafter HHStA, StAbt Turkei 1), nos. 30–36, January 1574–June 1578. On the lemon juice, see *Gerlach*, 175, 5 April 1576. In surviving original dispatches, one can see that much of the important information is conveyed between the lines, in small writing that now appears faint.

18 See, for example, *Gerlach*, 160, 208.

19 Tracy, "The Ambassador as Third Party," 195–206. See also James Tracy, "The Logic of *Kleinkrieg*: the 'Book of Halil Beg' in Habsburg-Ottoman Diplomacy, 1550–1576," *Austrian History Yearbook* LII (2021), forthcoming.

20 *Gerlach*, 135, 23 December 1575.

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not appointed me to such things." He could do no more than to ascertain if Salome's body was for sale, unless Lord Dietrichstein were to agree to subsidize the publication of a Protestant book.[21] Upon returning from Istanbul in 1578, Ungnad became Rudolf II's chief military adviser as President of the *Hofkriegsrat* (Court War Council) in Vienna, a position he held until resigning in 1603, a year before his death.[22]

2 Austrian Lutherans under Maximilian II

After a humiliating defeat by the Ottomans in 1566, the new sovereign was more than ever dependent on the collaboration of his provincial estates. Like the territorial princes of Germany, Austria's sovereign simply did not have a network of officials to blanket his territories such as one could find in France or the Low Countries.[23] Thus, taxes in Austria were not only subject to approval by the provincial estates, they were also collected and disbursed by officials answerable to the estates. The sovereign did have officials to administer his domain, but these revenues were heavily pledged to creditors, among whom the provincial estates, as corporate bodies, were increasingly prominent.[24] Support from the estates, however, came with a price tag. In the provincial assemblies, Catholic prelates were outweighed by the magnates and knights, who were overwhelmingly Lutheran in five of the six *Länder*.[25] Moreover, Maximilian II may have had his own reasons for granting Lutherans the religious rights denied them by his father.[26]

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21 *Gerlach*, 519, 345.

22 Oskar Regele, *Der österreichische Hofkriegsrat 1566–1648* (Vienna: 1949).

23 For Germany's territories, Michael North, "Finance and Power in the German State System," in *The Rise of Fiscal States: A Global History, 1500–1914*, eds. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla and Patrick K. O'Brien with Francisco Comin Comin (Cambridge: 2012), 145–63; Maximilian Lanzinner, *Fürst, Räte und Landständen: die Entstehung der Zentralbehörden in Bayern, 1511–1598* (Göttingen: 1980).

24 The classic work is Franz Mensi, *Geschichte der direkten Steuern in Steiermark bis zum Regierungsantritte Maria Theresias*, 5 vols. (Graz: 1910–36). See also a carefully argued study whose conclusions apply equally well to the sixteenth century: William D. Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power: Lower Austria in a Fiscal-Military State 1650–1820* (Oxford: 2018).

25 Tirol, ruled by Archduke Ferdinand, remained predominantly Catholic. According to *Gerlach*, 345, Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol once told David Ungnad that he would never bestow favors on him because of his religion.

26 Leeb, "Die Streit um den wahren Glauben." The young Archduke Maximilian had been strongly sympathetic to Lutheranism, and Leeb suggests that as emperor he saw Lutheranism as a barrier against the expansion of Calvinism into his Austrian lands (208).

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In Lower Austria (Vienna), the Emperor-Archduke granted a *Religionskonzession* (religious concession) in 1568, permitting freedom of worship for the nobles and the towns they ruled, but not for towns in the prince's domain, where Lutheranism was *de facto* equally strong. This grant of partial toleration was conditioned on the acceptance of a *Kirchenordnung* (church ordinance) by Lower Austria's Lutherans. By agreement with the estates, Maximilian entrusted the drafting process to a committee of theologians headed by Melanchthon's pupil, David Chytraeus. In 1571, a revised version that Lower Austria's estates had accepted was guaranteed by Maximilian's assurance (*Assekuration*).[27]

Styria, home ground for the Ungnads, was one of three duchies included in Inner Austria, ruled from 1564 by the emperor's youngest brother, Archduke Charles. Although he issued a "Pacification of Graz" in 1572 with concessions similar to those in Lower Austria, Charles was more determined than Maximilian to yield as little as possible to the advance of heresy. In the same year, for example, he forced the Lutheran town council of Graz to acquiesce in the founding of a Jesuit school.[28] There was little more he could do. In 1580, a papal nuncio in Graz complained that he could scarcely find five Catholics among all the nobles of Inner Austria.[29]

Even in Lower Austria the *Kirchenordnung*—a compromise agreed to by Maximilian and the estates—banned the appointment of a superintendent, or the formation of a consistory; Austrian Lutherans thus had no one authorized to ordain clergy.[30] Still, in five of the six provincial capitals, the estates had an evangelical preacher who conducted services in the seat of the provincial government (*Landhaus*). Even though Inner Austria had no *Kirchenordnung*, it was here that the management of church affairs by estates was most fully developed, with the provincial preacher (*Landesprediger*) of Styria functioning as

27 Daniel Benga, "David Chytraeus (1530–1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen" (PhD diss., University of Erlangen, 2001), 87–90. Maximilian assumed that the *Assekuration* of 1571 applied to Upper Austria as well as Lower Austria, since his chancery did not recognize Upper Austria as a legally separate entity, but Upper Austria refused to be included and did not have its own *Assekuration* until 1578. For the ensuing tradition of Protestant resistance in Lower and especially Upper Austria, Arno Strohmeyer, *Konfessionskonflikt und Herrschaftsordnung: Widerstandsrecht bei den österreichischen Ständen (1550–1650)* (Mainz: 2006).

28 Regina Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria, 1580–1630* (Oxford: 2001), 28–29. Inner Austria also included the duchies of Carinthia and Carniola.

29 For the citation of the Nuncio, Germanico Malaspina, see Leeb, "Die Streit um den wahren Glauben," 208–10; Benga, *David Chytraeus*, 87–90; Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe*, 23–30, 35.

30 Leeb, "Die Streit um den wahren Glauben," 209–10.

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a *de facto* superintendent for all three duchies.[31] Yet the future of Lutheranism was by no means secure. Preachers still had to be ordained beyond the borders, and there was no freedom of worship for the ducal towns.

Religious tensions increased after the death of Maximilian II (8 October 1576). In the negotiations for formal acclamation as Archduke of Lower Austria, Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1609) gave no more than a verbal promise to maintain the *Assekuration* of 1571. Where possible, he chipped away at Lutheran practices not guaranteed by the *Assekuration*. For example, angered by sermons in which the aforementioned Joshua Opitz denounced popish idolatry, he forbade evangelical preaching in the Vienna *Landhaus*.[32] These were the delicate circumstances in which Ambassador Ungnad penned a fifty-four page circular letter to the Austrian estates, dated 1 December 1576 in Istanbul, roughly 800 miles southeast of Vienna.[33]

3 Ungnad's Circular Letter

Ambassadors were not in the habit of communicating directly with the political public, yet this letter to the estates was an official document written by an ambassador in the interest of his sovereign for purposes that are clear from the text. As part of its ongoing campaign order to induce the estates to make greater financial sacrifices, the Habsburg government made a practice of giving noble deputies of the estates access to what would otherwise have been privileged information, including diplomatic correspondence.[34] As Gerlach says in his diary, the ambassador hoped to convince the lords of the estates that "they must provide more soldiers to defend the frontier, so the enemy will not cause so much damage, and take so many fortresses."[35] Maximilian II was by now deceased, and Ungnad does not say that the new sovereign, Rudolf II, had instructed him to write this letter.[36] He does say, however, that one of his

31 Leeb, "Die Streit um den wahren Glauben," 222–25.

32 Leeb, "Die Streit um den wahren Glauben," 228–31.

33 Ambassador David Ungnad to the Austrian estates, Istanbul, 1 December 1576 (hereafter as Ungnad 1 December 1576), ARS, DSK, no. 216, fasc. 126a, 1st document, 1–54, here 48.

34 The land-tax (*Gült*) was paid by bound peasants, but as peasant income (and peasant labor) were directed more towards the needs of defense, less was available for their noble lords.

35 *Gerlach*, 275, 9 December 1576.

36 Rudolf died on October 8.

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previous letters to the estates was written after he had promised His Majesty (Maximilian II) to do so.[37]

The threat posed by the Ottomans was immediate and unrelenting. At least along the two Croatian sectors of the frontier for which Inner Austria was responsible, 1575 was perhaps the worst year in the long saga of Ottoman forays into Habsburg territory in the ongoing *Kleinkrieg* (cross-border raiding) that occupied the intervals between full-scale wars.[38] His Majesty bore the primary responsibility for defending his lands, and his subjects invariably faulted him for reaching again and again into their pockets. Might not the Ottomans be satisfied by some diplomatic arrangement, and why did His Majesty not form alliances with other Christian powers or appeal to the Imperial Diet?

Ungnad's letter patiently explains why none of these options was workable or satisfactory under the circumstances. True, the eight-year peace treaty of 1568 was now in the process of being renegotiated. As always, however, a treaty offered no more than a promise that neither Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–94) nor his commander-in-chief would lead a full-scale invasion of Hungary.[39] And did the Ottomans make a habit of keeping promises to infidel Christians? Ungnad answers his own question by quoting the Grand Vezier, Mehmed Pasha Sokullu: "'A treaty of peace is a mere corpse, into which our sultan breathes life if he wishes.'"[40] Since the Ottomans were better than the Habsburgs at the game of *Kleinkrieg*, Austria's borderlands in Hungary and Croatia would continue to be ground away, even if the sultan chose to refrain from launching an all-out campaign to the west.[41]

As for foreign alliances, Maximilian II had offered his candidacy for the elective crown of Poland-Lithuania, raising hopes in Austria; when he failed to gain the prize, some grumbled that he had not tried hard enough. This was evidently an important question for the estates, because Ungnad returned to it again and again.[42] The Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania was, in this period, a regional power, not the vulnerable colossus that it later became.[43] If Poland-Lithuania, hitherto at peace with the Porte, had united with the Habsburg lands against

37 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 2, 3. Gerlach summarizes the contents of a previous letter to the estates which could be the one to which Ungnad refers (*Gerlach*, 200, 28 May 1576).

38 Tracy, *Balkan Wars*, 228–30.

39 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 37, 38, 40.

40 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 48.

41 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 48 (the quote).

42 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 4, 10, 19–20, 22, 25, 27–29, 30–32, 35.

43 Robert Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (New York: 2000). The Commonwealth was created by the 1569 Union of Lublin, between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; both realms had been ruled by the same monarchs for nearly two centuries.

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a common foe, it could have made a difference, but it was not to be; rejecting Maximilian, the Polish-Lithuanian Diet chose instead István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania, an Ottoman client whose candidacy was supported by the Porte. Ungnad defended Maximilian II against criticism. His Majesty's pursuit of the crown, supported by the best men in Poland-Lithuania, was on the verge of success, until it was scuttled by the machinations of a "rabble" (*Pöbel*) among the aristocracy.[44]

As for the Holy Roman Empire, Ungnad sought to dampen hopes for the help that might be expected. Even though many in the Empire still thought the Ottomans might be appeased through negotiations, the *Reichstag* (Imperial Diet) had begun granting multi-year *Reichshilfe* (aid from the empire) for the Hungarian frontier in 1556, just after the Peace of Augsburg. Wisely, His late Majesty had set aside a request for an army to help him in Poland, asking the Diet instead to renew its grant for Hungary. The Diet had indeed granted a new *Reichshilfe* but, as members of the Austrian estates knew from experience, the sums in question were far from sufficient for the needs of the frontier.[45] The upshot was clear. The Austrian provinces, on their own, had to make the border strong in keeping with the defensive strategy now being developed, otherwise, "We can only pray to God to spare us another full-scale invasion."[46]

4 Advice for Lutherans

On each of the points mentioned, Ambassador Ungnad spoke as an agent of the Habsburg dynasty, fulfilling his official duty, but one may discern, here and there, places where he seems to have spoken, as it were, off the record. One long passage touches on three different points that would have been of particular interest to the majority in the estates, the magnates and knights who were the pillars of Austrian Lutheranism. In context, Ungnad was discussing why Maximilian II's plans for Poland-Lithuania had failed:

44 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 3, 30–31. See Christoph Augustynowicz, "Schlesien—Interessensknotenpunkt in den ersten beiden polnisch-litauischen Interregna (1572–1576)," in *Rußland, Polen und Österreich in der frühen Neuzeit: Festschrift für Walter Leitsch zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph Augustynowicz, et al. (Cologne: 2003), 119–35. Magnates in the *Sejm* favored Maximilian II, but the lesser nobles (Ungnad's "*pöbel*") swung the election to István Báthory.

45 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 18, 33–35. Subsidies from the Diet were designated for fortification building along the frontier, leaving the Habsburg lands with a much larger bill for garrison wages and other expenses: Tracy, *Balkan Wars*, Chapter 5.

46 Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 20, 30–31, 42, 43 (the quote).

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Because of our continuing sins, the almighty and just God, using disunion among the Poles, did not allow, permit, or grant this Northern Alliance to a Christendom troubled and oppressed by the common enemy of the Christian faith, and sinking day by day into the greatest danger of certain collapse [*undergang*], elimination [*ausrottung*], and discontinuance. Therefore we must bear his divine will in our hearts with silent patience, and we must understand his heavy judgement [*verhannknus*] as a warning call to repentance [*Puess*], conversion and reform of our lives, so sinful and worthy of punishment; if not, let it be accepted and understood that yet more anguish, grief, and dire necessity is not just threatened but will come and continue. May Almighty God, true and just, the giver of all good gifts, bestow the Holy Spirit on his poor, pitiful and persecuted Christendom, so that we be mindful of the collapse [*untergang*] of the Asian and Greek members of Christendom centuries ago, when they felt the lash of just punishment for their sins, and let us be mindful ourselves of the frightful wrath of God, and of the enemy that stands on our borders, and [so let us] turn ourselves to those things that pertain to the honor of God and the common welfare, so that at some point the good and merciful God may turn his eye to Christendom, diminish her need and suffering, and graciously and mercifully save her and especially our homelands from the extreme dangers that confront us, giving heed to the cries, tears and prayers of many true Christians, that the threat of ruin and endless misery be stayed, and that the destructive force of this enemy be dampened, for the glory and praise of his holy Name, and that in this danger that is beyond the most perilous He will stretch forth his strong and helpful arm, and that He be pleased to let his holy angels drive back and rid us of this powerful foe, and that He may be moved by our most fervent prayer, for otherwise everything than men can do is idle, fruitless, without blessing or success.[47]

47 "Doch muss ich es je dahin deuten, der allmachtige gerechte Gott habe unser unaufhoerlichen suenden halben, dise Septentrionalische Conjunction durch die Polnische unainighait, dem algemeinen feindt des Cristlichen Glaubens zu gewissen undergang, ausrottung und abbruch / noch zur zeit seiner betruebten, bedrannten und von tag zu tag in mer euesseriste gefar einsinkend Cristenhait nicht verguennen, gestatten noch zugeben wollen, derowegen seinen Gottlich willen mit geduld und demuetigen herzen stillhalten, und seine so schwere verhannknus, fuer ain vermannung zu Puess, bekherung und des straflich suendlich unsers lebens reformung, und wo man sich daran nicht stet, noch volgt, fuer ain bedrohung, anfang und furrgang, noch merer angst, triebsal, Not und letztes und genugs angenumen, und erkhant sein muess, der allmechtige treue gerechte Gott und aller guten geber, verleihe seiner armen, ellendiglich verfolgtren Cristenhait seiner Heyligen und gueten Geist, damit sy sich an iren Asiatischen und Griechisch Mitglieder,

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The pleonasm of the text and its gushing flow, more like speech than formal writing, will not surprise readers familiar with German prose of this period. The first point to be noted is a matter of emphasis and vocabulary. The basic notion of the warlike heathen as the scourge of God was a commonplace inherited from past Christian centuries. Here, the familiar trope is sharpened by reference to characteristically Lutheran themes: the frightful wrath of God, the need for patient forbearance under the rod of God's just punishment understood as a call for repentance, and a hope that God in his mercy would give special heed to the prayers of true Christians. The emphasis on repentance may seem unexpected but, as Susan Karant-Nunn has shown, Lutheran churches of this era required parishioners desiring to receive the Lord's Supper to confess their sins to the pastor beforehand.[48] Ungnad was speaking here in a way that his overwhelmingly Lutheran audience would understand.

Secondly, the "northern conjunction" that had failed to materialize was not just a strategic issue. It was of particular importance for Austrian Lutheran nobles living under the jealous eye of Catholic princes. Under King Zygmunt II Augustus (r. 1548–72), Poland-Lithuania had become a multi-confessional state. Across Poland and Lithuania, Calvinism made impressive gains among the lesser aristocracy, who made up the lower house of the *Sejm* (Diet). Although Catholic magnates (including the bishops) had a small majority in the Senate, both houses joined in prohibiting the enforcement of sentences for heresy issued by episcopal courts. Meanwhile, in Royal Prussia, Lutheranism was solidly established in German-speaking Baltic cities, such as Gdansk and Elblag.

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vor mer Hundert Jaren Untergang und irer suenden haben billich erlitnen strafriegeln, aus dem bey Menschen Gedenken erscheinen, and der Erbland benachtbarten und diesem feind granitzen den reuen goetlichen erschricklichen Zorn, sich warnemen, und alles thuen und wesen, also zu goetlicher Er und allgemainer wolfart aufnehmen, wennden, auch richten muege, auf dasz einst der guettige barmherzige Goit, sein genadige und unendlkicher barmharzigkhait Goettliches Auge zu Ir zukehren, ir ellend not und jammer zuringeren, sy und darinnen furnemblich die Erblande denen das Feuer der wuettenden trachen Rachens in und vor augen, auss der vor augen steenden eusseristen gefaer zuretten und zuweissen viler treuherzigen Cristen, schrayen flehen und gebet, das etwan bisher, dass entlich layt verderben one zweiffel auf und dz ausgerissende dieses feindes fuer ingehalten und gedampfft / weiter gednediglich zugeblich und mildiglich umb seines heiligen Namens Her [Er?] und Preiss willen zuhoeren, und Ir in diesen iren mer als ___ gefaerlichsten noetten, mit seinem staerckhen aussgestrickhten hilffreichen armb, zusetzen, und bey zu strengen und durch seinen heilig engel dergleichen gewaltigen feind zuruckh zu treiben und zu tilgen geruehe, und mit unserem eusseirgen gebeet, auch Gottselig wanndl dann sonst aller Mesnchen Hilf eitel und fruchtlos, one Gedeyen auch Segen ist, beweget wurde." Ungnad, 1 December 1576, 7–9.

48 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern* Germany (New York: 1997), 94–99.

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The king, himself a Catholic, instructed his officials to oppose the Reformation on royal estates, but he also let it be known that he did not like "burnings." The 1573 Diet, which elected Zygmunt II's successor, also proclaimed the Warsaw Confederation, which included a guarantee of peace for all "*dissidentes de religione*," (religious dissenters) and prohibited religious persecution.[49] In short, the reason Ungnad's circular letter devotes so much attention to the failed "northern conjunction" was that it represented the great might-have-been moment for Austrian Lutherans. A Habsburg monarch ruling over Protestant majorities among his aristocrats at home and hoping to establish his authority in a new, multi-confessional realm, could not likely have supported the Counter-Reformation that, *de facto*, soon began in the Austrian lands under Habsburg sponsorship.

The final point that merits attention is Ungnad's reference to the "collapse" of Asian and Greek churches in past centuries as a warning of the impending "collapse" of another of Christendom's members, Latin Christianity. The idea of Christendom as a vast body made up of geographic members was not specifically Protestant, but Protestants tended to afford greater respect to the churches that Rome condemned as heretical or schismatic. As early as the Leipzig debate, Luther appealed to the Orthodox Church and its rejection of papal primacy.[50] Melanchthon's interest in the churches of the east was stimulated by his correspondence in the 1540s with Antonios Eparchus, an Orthodox cleric based in Venice. Melanchthon believed that God would never allow his church to die out; a faithful remnant would always be preserved. Eparchus's reports confirmed his belief, showing that the churches of the east constituted a "holy remnant" of the true faith, despite being under Ottoman rule. In the 1550s, Jacobus Heraclides, a kinsman of Patriarch Joasaph II, lived in Wittenberg, and was converted to Lutheranism by Melanchthon.[51] Later, while Ungnad was his student, two clerics sent by the Patriarch were Melanchthon's house guests, including the Serbian deacon who took with him on his ill-fated return journey a copy of the *Augustana Graeca*.

Ungnad's interest in the eastern churches dated from his association with Melanchthon. Since Greek was one of his languages, he likely took a personal

49 Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Between Church and State—Confessional Relations from Reformation to Enlightenment: Poland—Lithuania—Germany—Netherlands*, trans. Bartosz Wójcik (Frankfurt: 2016), 363–407. The king elect, Henry of Valois (r. 1573–74), soon resigned, in order to succeed his brother as King Henry II of France.

50 Benga, *David Chytraeus*, 24, 42–48.

51 Miklós Istvànffy, *Regi Hungarici Historia ... Libris XXXV Exacte Descripta* (Cologne: 1685), 262–67. Known as Jacobus Heraclides Despota, he subsequently had a brief career (1561) as Despot of Wallachia.

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interest in the conversations with Orthodox leaders conducted by his chaplain, the Tübingen theologian Stefan Gerlach. Ungnad may also have known David Chytraeus' *Oratio de status ecclesie in Graecia*, first published in 1569, which included information about the church in the lands of "Prester John." In one of the rare asides in his official correspondence, Ungnad describes the "chief vizier of Prester John," who was brought captive to the Ottoman court along with thirty Abyssinian soldiers.[52] In 1574, a highly-placed official in Graz wrote him about a conversation in which Chytraeus (chief author of Lower Austria's *Kirchenordnung*) and Archduke Charles discussed the Muscovite church.[53]

Unlike Melanchthon, Ungnad describes the Greek and Asian churches as having undergone a collapse (*Untergang*), a punishment visited upon them by God for their sins. He obviously did not mean that these churches had ceased to exist. It was generally understood that the Ottomans were relatively tolerant of Christian minorities.[54] Gerlach's conversations brought him into contact with a still-functioning Byzantine hierarchy.[55] This was not, however, the Greek Church that Melanchthon had envisioned, a sympathetic partner for theological dialogue with evangelicals.[56] More ominously, it was a church under firm political control. Gerlach gives an account of the Patriarchate's recent history that is only slightly garbled. For some two decades, the dominant figure in church affairs had been a powerful merchant prince claiming descent from a Byzantine imperial family, Michael Cantacuzenos (d. 1578), known among Turks and Greeks alike as "son of the devil" (*Shaytanoglu*). Through his friendship with Mehmed Pasha, the Grand Vezier, Cantacuzenos controlled the sale of church offices, and regularly installed his clients in bishoprics. In 1565 he had the popular Patriarch Joasaph II deposed and replaced by the learned Metrophanes of Byzantium, who was to pay his patron a fixed sum every year. In 1572 it was Metrophanes' turn to be ousted. According to Gerlach, he had refused a request to help Cantacuzenos pay for new war galleys to replace

52 Benga, *David Chytraeus*, 103–69; there were several other editions, the last in 1583. Ungnad to Maximilian II, 17 November 1574, HHStA, StAbt Turkei I, no. 30, Konvolut 5b. 65–74, here 71v–72.

53 *Gerlach*, 55, entry 27 April 1574.

54 Benga, *David Chytraeus*, 118–21.

55 *Gerlach*, 29, 64.

56 *Gerlach*, 118, September 1575. Gerlach was pessimistic about finding a basis for agreement with the Orthodox: "In Summa sind sie in allen Stuecken Papistisch / ausgenommen vom Ausgang des Heiligen Gesites / vom gesauerten Brodt / vom Fegefeuer / und dass der Papst nicht Christi statthalter sey."

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those lost at Lepanto. The new Patriarch, Jeremias II, was again a protégé of Cantacuzenos.[57]

This was the kind of "collapse" which, in Ungnad's view, now threatened Latin Christians, including evangelicals as well as Catholics. It was not so much a question of active persecution. Protestants were not harassed in the portion of Hungary that the Ottomans ruled directly, and Gerlach found the Turks better disposed toward Lutherans than toward Catholics, whom they despised for their veneration of saints and images.[58] What was at stake was the independence of the Lutheran church, or rather the political foundations on which the independence of the church rested. In 1576, Lutherans were deploying their majority position in the estates to extract from the Catholic Habsburgs a legal status that approximated toleration. But if Latin Christendom collapsed—if the Ottomans broke through—all churches would be subject to the kind of political manipulations one could observe among the Greeks. In sum, Ungnad was urging his Lutheran peers to choose the lesser evil and bet on the Habsburgs.

Early in 1578, little more than a year after Ungnad's circular letter, the estates of Inner Austria were presented with a comprehensive plan for border defense, requiring still higher taxes. They refused to consent unless Archduke Charles extended freedom of worship to the ducal towns. He gave them an oral promise to do so, and the estates published an amended version of the Pacification of Graz, incorporating the Archduke's words as recorded in their minutes, yet Charles did not sign the document and thus avoided a formal endorsement of the estates' version of what he had said.[59] In 1579, Archduke Charles and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol met in Munich with their brother-in-law, Duke William V of Bavaria, to work out a plan for the gradual re-Catholicization of the Austrian lands.

The initial manifestations of a Habsburg-sponsored Counter-Reformation soon provoked talk of resistance, but Austrian Lutheranism was, in Rudolf Leeb's judgement, "substantially Philippist" and thus less inclined to direct confrontation.[60] In 1582, the estates of Styria requested a formal opinion on the right to resistance from Jacob Andreae, a well-known Tübingen theologian. He responded by outlining his doctrine of passive or "suffering obedience" (*leidender Gehorsam*), and the estates voted to accept his view. The tone was rather different in Upper and Lower Austria, where many preachers had

57 Tom Papademitriou, *Render Unto the Sultan: Power, Authority and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: 2015); *Gerlach*, 30, 55–56.

58 Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: 2000), Chapter 1; *Gerlach*, 89.

59 Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe*, 28–32; Tracy, *Balkan Wars,* 272–80.

60 Leeb, "Der Streit um den wahren Glauben," 227.

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Gnesio-Lutheran or Flacian associations. Upper Austria in particular would be a theater of recurrent rebellions from the 1590s to the 1630s.[61] The further history of the Austrian Counter-Reformation is not relevant here, but it is reasonable to imagine that many Lutherans would have had cause to regret giving the Habsburg dynasty their support.

Ungnad was not of this persuasion. Even as the Habsburg Counter-Reformation unfolded, he soldiered on for twenty-five years at his post as president of the *Hofkriegsrat* in Vienna. One might well regard him as a Philippist because of his personal connection with Melanchthon and his resumption of Melanchthon's pursuit of contacts with the Orthodox Church. He was, however, something less than a whole-hearted partisan of his professor's opinions. According to Gerlach, when Ungnad arrived in Spain accompanying the young Habsburg archdukes, he wondered if he should also accompany them to Mass, for he knew that "some were of Melanchthon's opinion." Ferdinand's ambassador to the Spanish court, the current Ambassador to Spain, warned him that if he did so he would "face the wrath of God."[62]

Ungnad was a theologically literate statesman, not a theologian. I suggest that he may best be understood as a Lutheran *politique*, a man for whom the political order had at all costs to be preserved as a condition for human flourishing and as a foundation for the church of true Christians under the guidance of a just and merciful God.

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61 Strohmayer, *Konfessionskonflikt und Herrschaftsordnung*.

62 *Gerlach*, 241–42, 27 September 1576. The ambassador was Johann Repenhueller.

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CHAPTER 9

Emblematic Strategies in the Devotions and Dynasty of Dorothea, Princess of Anhalt

Mara R. Wade

The *Stammbücher* (*alba amicorum* or friendship albums) of Princess Dorothea von Anhalt (1607–34) (Fig. 9.1) open a window into the life of an early modern girl and woman. The two volumes, given to her at the ages of eleven and twelve respectively, belonged to the extremely popular genre of the emblem book, illustrated works of ethical teachings. Before binding, her books were customized with interleaved blank pages for use as *Stammbücher*, or friendship albums. The *Stammbuch* is generally known in non-German contexts as an *album amicorum*. Dorothea's first such book was Andreas Friedrich's *Emblemata Nova* (1617) (Fig. 9.2), and the second one was Georgette de Montenay's *Stamm Buch/ Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel/ Einhundert außerlesener Emblemata* (1619).[1] Each book served a different purpose that I have studied separately, devoting one article to each.[2] My earlier research focused primarily on gender and the use of emblem books such as *alba amicorum*. The role of these books in Dorothea's religious preparation as a future wife in Protestant German-speaking lands began to emerge in those studies and provides the focus here. The present study is tightly scoped, contextualizing one young

1 See Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova; das ist/ New Bilderbuch: Darinnen durch sonderliche Figuren der jetzigen Welt Lauff vnd Wesen verdeckter Weise abgemahlet/ vnd mit zugehörigen Reymen erkläret wirt* (Frankfurt: 1617) (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (hereafter as HAB), Cod. Guelf. 231 Noviss. 8°; http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/231-noviss-8f/start.htm, accessed 10 June 2020); *Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, Neue Reihe, vol. 20. (Frankfurt: 1992), 178. See also Georgette de Montenay, *Stamm Buch/ Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel/ Einhundert außerlesener Emblemata* (Frankfurt: 1619) (HAB: Cod. Guelf. 224 Blankenburg; this book has not been digitized); *Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, Neue Reihe, Vol. 11: *Die Blankenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt: 1966), item 224, 213–14.

2 Mara R. Wade, "Women's Networks of Knowledge: The Emblem Book as *Stammbuch*," in *Knowledge in Motion*, eds. Christian Schneider and Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Daphnis* 45 (2017): 492–509. See also Mara R. Wade, "Dorothea von Anhalt, Fürsten von Braunschweig-Lüneburg: The Emblem Book as *Stammbuch*," in *Women—Books—Courts: Knowledge and Collecting before 1800 / Frauen—Bücher—Höfe: Wissen und Sammeln vor 1800: Essays in Honor of Jill Bepler*, eds. Volker Bauer, Elizabeth Harding, Mara R. Wade, and Gerhild Scholz Williams (Wiesbaden: 2018), 297–312.

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FIGURE 9.1
Dorothea von Anhalt-Zerbst, *c.*1625, artist unknown. Creative Commons License, Wikimedia

woman's two emblem books given to her to be used as *Stammbücher*. These volumes were intended to fulfill two goals: to teach Dorothea ethical tenets generally associated with Protestantism and to record encounters with members of her extended dynasty. The interpretive approach employed here shifts the discussion to the role of devotional books in training a girl in the precepts of her religion and establishing and maintaining dynasty.

Both books are similarly bound in brown calfskin and embellished with Dorothea's heraldic coat of arms and her supralibros in gilt letters, "D.F.Z.A." (D[orothea] F[ürstin] Z[u] A[nhalt]) (Fig. 9.3). The Friedrich volume, pictured here, bears the year 1618 on the cover, while the Montenay binding bears the year 1619. These years denote Dorothea's acquisition of the books, confirming that each book entered her collection soon after its publication and that it was important that this young princess of Anhalt have contemporary ethical literature among her personal books. These books from a young girl's collection—she was eleven to twelve years old at the time—demonstrate her horizons in ways that inform our investigation of devotional emblem books and the training of a young princess.

The catalog of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel records four additional devotional works known to have been part of Dorothea's personal library. While the emblem books were new acquisitions, the other books associated with Dorothea of Anhalt in the provenance catalog of the Herzog August Bibliothek were printed during the sixteenth century and she received them all in 1622. Dorothea inscribed into the back cover of each of the four

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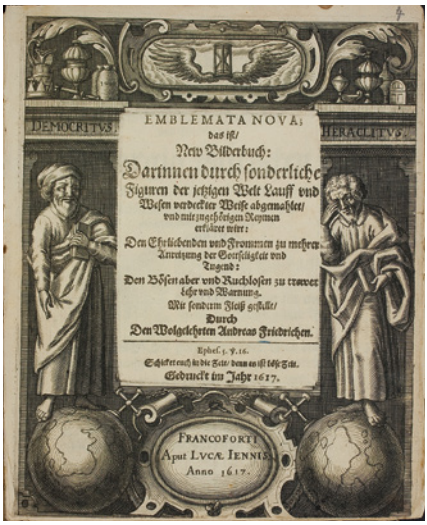

FIGURE 9.2
Title page, Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova*, 1617, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 231 Noviss. 8°
COURTESY OF THE HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL

FIGURE 9.3
Binding of Dorothea von Anhalt for Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova*, 1617, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 231 Noviss. 8°
COURTESY OF THE HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL

volumes a variation of the phrase: "1622 Dis buch hört mein Dorothea F[ürstin] zu Anhalt." Dorothea inherited the *Betbuch* (prayer book) from her mother as other marks of ownership indicate.[3] The other books acquired in 1622 were very likely previously owned by a family member. The four volumes include: *Betbuch von vielen schönen ausserlesenen, hochtröstlichen und andechtigen Gebeten, aus den Psalmen und biblischen Historien*,[4] Schütz's edition of some Luther texts such as *Christliche einhellige Lehr und Bekentnis*,[5] *Zwölff Christliche Predigten*,[6] and *Euangelion Vnsers Herrn Jhesu Christi*.[7] The emblem books and these four devotional books are held today at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, in the family library of Dorothea's husband, Duke August

3 I have discussed this book in Wade, "Dorothea von Anhalt," 310.

4 Mathhaeus Leudtholdt, *Betbuch. Von vielen schönen Ausserlesenen, Hochtröstlichen und andechtigen Gebeten* (Frankfurt/Oder: 1595).

5 Johannes Schütz, *Christliche Einhellige Lehr und Bekentnis* (Wittenberg: [*c.*1583]). The supralibros of a first, unidentified owner is on this book's cover: "FD.H.Z. S. 1584."

6 Georg Lystheius, *Zwölf Christliche Predigten* (Dresden: 1579). "1622 Dis buch hört mein Dorothea FZA" is inscribed in the back cover.

7 Paul Crell, *Euangelion Vnsers HERRN Jhesu Christi. Aus allen vier Euangelisten, nach ordnung der zeit vnd Geschichte einstimmig verglichen vnd zusamen gezogen* (Wittenberg: 1571). "1622 Dis buch hört mein Dorothea FZA" is inscribed on the back cover.

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(1579–1666) and their descendants. Taken together, these six religious works demonstrate the centrality of Protestant teachings in Dorothea's collection.

The emblem books receive the primary focus here because she received them as a child and because they are customized with manuscript entries and comprised one aspect of her religious training as a future Protestant wife. Their compact form allowed her to rehearse religious tenets in the context of multilingual texts and high-quality images. Their handwritten entries distinguish them as *Stammbücher* and thus different from the other books she is known to have owned. In her friendship albums, or *Stammbücher*, the blank pages of the emblem books inscribed by family members intersect with religious teachings in the form of the printed emblems. Here dynasty and devotions are physically interleaved and made visible. For an early modern dynastic woman, "friendship" meant the immediate and extended members of her family; friendship consisted of kinship through blood and marriage. Visitors, or her visits to others, were commemorated when she presented her album for their signature. A handwritten entry in any given *Stammbuch* normally consisted of the signatory's personal motto, their signature with full titles, and often the place and the date of the visit. Dorothea's signatories generally followed this practice.

The content and customization of these two books suggest that Dorothea would later cross many boundaries in her life: linguistic and intellectual, dynastic and geographic, and the handwritten entries confirm this expectation. The latter two boundaries, dynastic and geographic, also represented for Dorothea a religious boundary. As a princess of Anhalt, she was expected to marry and become a model wife and mother; these duties had clear religious components. Although she came from Calvinist Anhalt, Dorothea was related to leading Lutheran dynasties of Northern Europe. With her 1623 marriage to Duke August of Wolfenbüttel, Dorothea became the wife of the most learned Lutheran prince in the period. Given the books known to be from Dorothea's collection, she was, as her young age would suggest, intellectually prepared to become the wife of her much older husband Duke August. Owing to her birth dynasty's close connections with the most influential German literary society of the seventeenth century, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (The Fruit-bearing Society) of which her uncle, Prince Ludwig, was the founder and her father Rudolf a member, and its counterpart for women, the *Tugendliche Gesellschaft* (The Virtuous Society), of which many female relatives were members, Dorothea was surrounded by books and learning for both men and women in her youth.[8]

8 For information regarding both of these learned societies, see the home page for the multi-year research project on the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. (http://www.hab.de/en/home/research/projects/fruchtbringende-gesellschaft-fruitful-or-carpogenic-society.html, accessed

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A princess was expected to represent her dynasty, that is, her immediate and extended family, throughout her entire life.[9] Her representational duties included their religious confession, a subject that could often become the subject of intense negotiation.[10] In the case of Dorothea, her family negotiated the free practice of her faith in her marriage.[11] Thus, the gift of devotional emblem books to Dorothea, beginning at age eleven, signaled the religious context of her dynasty, which was complicated, as discussed in greater detail below. The emblem books affirm the religious shifts of the Anhaltine dynasty from Lutheranism to Calvinism. In a certain practical sense, Dorothea's entire life played out as a Calvinist from Anhalt, while the Lutheran realities surrounding her were omnipresent, although non-confrontational. These devotional emblem books, repurposed as *Stammbücher*, are potent signifiers of her place in a dynasty known for its learning, and they reflect the many roles of women, including that as guardian of the family's faith, within that dynasty.[12] All aspects of these emblem books—the original gift giver, the recipient, the contents, and the signatories—can be profitably viewed through the lens of gender, dynasty, and religious confession.

1 Dorothea and Dynasty

As for all early modern princely women, dynasty was a crucial issue for Dorothea von Anhalt. She was the eldest daughter of Prince Rudolf of Anhalt-Zerbst (1576–1621). She had a sister Eleonore (1608–80), who was one year younger. Her mother, named Dorothea Hedwig (1587–1609), was the daughter of Heinrich Julius, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel (1564–1613) and Dorothea of Sachsen (1563–87). Dorothea Hedwig died in childbirth in 1609. Her father Rudolf remarried in 1612 to Magdalena (1585–1657), Countess of Oldenburg. When Rudolf died in 1621, Dorothea went to live with

10 June 2020) and the related website (http://www.die-fruchtbringende-gesellschaft.de, accessed 10 June 2020).

9 Cordula Bischoff, trans. Nicola Imrie, "Presents for Princesses: Gender in Royal Receiving and Giving," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15 (2007–2008): 19–45, here 23.

10 See, for example, Frederieke Maria Schnack, "Heiratspolitik und Handlungsspielräume: das Konnubium der Herzöge von Lüneburg (Altes Haus)," *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 86 (2014): 185–212.

11 "in Glaubenssachen nirgendzu sollen gezwungen oder Streitschrift zu lesen genöthiget werden." Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Wolfenbüttel (hereafter NLA WO), 1 Alt 23 Nr. 235. See also NLA WO, 1 Alt 23 Nr. 236. These two sets of documents concern her guardianship and marriage. I extend my gratitude to Jill Bepler for bringing these documents to my attention.

12 See Wade, "Dorothea von Anhalt," 298–99.

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her step-grandmother, Elisabeth (1573–1626), born princess of Denmark, the second wife of Heinrich Julius, at her widow's residence in Schöningen. Thus, through marriage, Elisabeth was the duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel. A letter in the Lower Saxon Federal Archive in Wolfenbüttel documents how Dorothea appealed to her relatives not to separate her, then fourteen years old, from her younger sister Eleonore, who went to live with Elisabeth's son.[13] While the orphaned girls went to the same dynasty, Dorothea lived with her step-grandmother at Schöningen and Eleonore with her cousin Friedrich Ulrich at Wolfenbüttel. Two years later Elisabeth negotiated the sixteen-year-old Dorothea's marriage to Herzog August (1579–1666), who was nearly thirty years her senior.

August's and Dorothea's wedding occurred in Anhalt at Zerbst on 26 October 1623 and the couple lived in Hitzacker, where the duke had his residence and was already recognized as an important book collector.[14] Dorothea was August's second wife; his first, Clara Maria von Pommern (1574–1623), had died without living offspring. Dorothea fulfilled the expectations placed on her by leaving the previously childless Duke August with four surviving children: Rudolf August (1627–1704), Sibylla Ursula (1629–71), Clara Augusta (1632–1700), and Anton Ulrich (1633–1714). Dorothea died in childbirth with twins in 1634, while August was in Braunschweig negotiating his succession to Wolfenbüttel after Heinrich Julius and Elisabeth's son Friedrich Ulrich (1591–1634) had died without heirs. The role of dynastic women in ensuring children and entering into second, third, and even fourth marriages is strikingly emphasized in Dorothea's funeral sermon when the pastor wishes her surviving children: "Der allmechtigste wolle ihnen eine getrewe fromme Mutter/ zur rechten Zeit/ vmb den Herrn Vater die Aufferziehung derselben zu erleichtern/ hinwider in Gnaden bescheren" (May Almighty God in his mercy grant you a loyal, pious mother in due time, to help your father raise you).[15] August married for a third time in 1635; his third wife was Sophie Elisabeth von Mecklenburg (1613–76). Ferdinand Albrecht (1636–87) and Marie Elisabeth (1638–87) issued from that marriage. The above genealogical sketch is necessary to understand Dorothea's dynastic connections and their role in shaping her life. Her dynastic relations constitute a who's who of Northern Protestant elites. She was

13 See NLA WO, 1 Alt 23 Nr. 235.

14 Jill Bepler, "Vicissitudo Temporum: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Years' War," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 4 (2001): 953–68.

15 Johann Becker, *Christfürstliche Ehrenkrone: Oder Leich- und Trawr-Predigt / Als der leichnam der … Fürstinnen und Frawen … Dorothea, … Christseligen Angedenckens … eine Christliche hochbetrübte Leichbegängnis verrichtet worden* (Lüneberg: 1635) (HAB: Gn Sammelbd. 17 (1); http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gn-sbd-17-1s/start.htm, accessed 4 October 2018).

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related to the Danish crown, Electoral Saxony, several branches of the house of Braunschweig-Lünberg, and the duchies of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, not to mention the various Anhaltine courts of her birth family. Moreover, dynasty and family relations played a key role in her *Stammbücher* that offer a unique perspective from which to study women's books.

2 Dorothea's Emblem Books

Dorothea von Anhalt's two emblem books came into her personal collection very soon after their publication. A manuscript dedication in Friedrich's *Emblemata Nova* confirms that the first emblem book that Dorothea owned was given to her by one of her female relatives. Born of the Braunschweig dynasty, Sophia Hedwig of Pomerania, sister of Dorothea's grandfather Heinrich Julius and thus her great aunt, wrote a detailed entry into her niece's book after the date "16 EL 19" and her abbreviated personal motto "M[eine] H[offnung] Z[u] G[ott] A[llein]" (My hope is in God alone).[16] While we know the circumstances of this book entering the collection, there is no similar manuscript entry recording a gift in the Montenay volume.

Dorothea's albums confirm different, gendered practices in keeping her album.[17] The Friedrich volume was used horizontally, for family members contemporary to her own lifetime, while the Montenay volume was used vertically by her descendants. The signatories made their entries into the books according to a loosely hierarchical position, with the highest-ranking members of society signing at the front, men first followed by women, according to social station. Thus, for example, King Christian IV of Denmark is the first signatory in Dorothea's copy of Friedrich's emblems.[18] The Danish monarch, as Elisabeth's brother, was her step great uncle, whom she visited in Holstein in 1621. The Friedrich volume documents Dorothea's dynastic connections with seventy-four entries, over fifty of which were made by female relatives, likely when they were physically present together and she offered them her album for their signatures.

16 See Jill Bepler, "Sophia Hedwig von Pommern (1561–1631): Der Umgang mit Büchern im Alltag der Fürstin," in *Zwischen Thronsaal und Frawenzimmer: Handlungsfelder pommerscher Fürstinnen um 1600*, eds. Dirk Schleinert and Monika Schneikart (Cologne: 2017), 191–210.

17 Mara R. Wade, "Women's Networks of Knowledge"; Wade, "Dorothea von Anhalt, Fürsten von Braunschweig-Lüneburg."

18 Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova*, 6v, before emblem 3; http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/231-noviss-8f&distype=thumbs. See also Wade, "Dorothea von Anhalt," 304–5.

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The entries clustered around that of Sophia Hedwig, who gave Dorothea the Friedrich book, offer insight into how these hybrid volumes could work. The entry of Sophia Hedwig, as widowed duchess of Stettin in Pomerania, is several pages removed from that of the Danish monarch. Other entries by high-ranking women follow, such as that of Anna, widow of Ulrich of Mecklenburg. August's brother Julius Ernst (1571–1636) and his wife Sibylla (1584–1652) signed Dorothea's album in 1632, several pages further along in the volume.[19] Julius Ernst ruled the small territory of Dannenberg and Sibylla was the daughter of Duke Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Celle. The placement of their entry after the more important dynastic houses of Pomerania and Mecklenburg demonstrates how the album rehearsed one's place in the social hierarchy. A further confirmation is the explicit gender hierarchy evident in the book with Julius Ernst's entry at the top of the page and Sibylla's underneath that of her husband. Into her beautifully written entry the year reads "16 IE 32," indicating her husband "Iulius Ernst" and that she was "Geborene und vermehlte hertzogin zu Braunschweig vnd Lünebrurg. E[uer] L[iebden] getrewe Schwester alle Zeit" (Born and wed duchess of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, your dear sister always). The term "Euer Liebden" (your dear) was used by persons of equal social rank, here reflected in the status of Dorothea's signatories as her brother-in-law and his wife. The third signatory on the page, Maria Katharina (1616–65), was the daughter of Julius Ernst and his first wife Maria of Ostfriesland (1582–1616), who in 1635 became the wife of Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1588–1658).

Julius Ernst's family signed in 1632 ahead of three Saxon women, the widowed Maria, and the unmarried Hedwig Sibylle and Juliana, who signed as a group in 1621.[20] These women were respectively Maria, the widow of Franz II of Sachsen-Lauenberg (1547–1619) and sister of Heinrich Julius, and her daughters Hedwig Sibylle (1588–1635) and Juliana (1589–1630). Dorothea noted the deaths of Maria and Juliana by entering small crosses next to their entries, thus demonstrating that the *Stammbuch* was a site of dynastic memory to be maintained and consulted at regular intervals. It should also be noted that Maria was also the sister of Sophia Hedwig, the woman who gave Dorothea this *Stammbuch*. The relative positioning demonstrates their acute awareness of social rank and hierarchy, the intact family with a male at its peak ahead of the widow and her then unmarried daughters.

These entries by Dorothea's many relatives by marriage were complemented by the entries of her Anhaltine family: Dorothea (1581–1631), wife of Johann

19 See Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova* (1617), fol. 46 (scan 93).

20 See Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova* (1617), fol. 47 (scan 95).

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Georg I of Anhalt-Dessau (1567–1618), with her daughters Susanna Margareta (1610–63), Kunigunde Juliana (1607/8–83), and Ludwig's daughter Loÿsa Amena (1609–25).[21] In close proximity to them Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen (1579–1650) and his wife Amoena Amalia (1586–1625) and Anna (1579–1624), Ludwig's sister-in-law and wife of Christian I (1568–1630), signed the album.[22] Ludwig was the founder of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* and many of Dorothea's male relatives, including her father Rudolf, were members. Several of the women signatories were members of the *Tugendliche Gesellschaft*. As confirmed in her album, the families of her birth and of her marriage included the most highly educated elites and suggest that the printed emblem book as an album was a sophisticated literary gift for Dorothea.

The Anhaltine entries are all clustered between Emblem 27 "Spiegel christlicher Tugenden" (mirror of Christian virtues) and Emblem 28 "Fürs Vatterland streck auß dein Hand" (Reach out your hand for the fatherland).[23] The Anhaltine entries are all from 1621, the year when Dorothea's father Rudolf, brother to Ludwig, died. With a fair amount of certainty, it can be assumed that these entries were made at Rudolf's funeral. Given the timing of the entries around the beginning of the Thirty Years' War and Rudolf's death, their proximity to emblems of virtue and the fatherland seem carefully chosen. The dense web of familial connectivity confirms the role of the *Stammbuch* in making visible Dorothea's dynasty and confessional heritage. Dorothea also marked the decease of her Anhaltine relatives with a small cross, reconfirming the album's role in maintaining dynastic memory. Dorothea's *Stammbuch* also makes visible the intersection of Lutheran and Calvinist dynasties in her marriage to August.

Dorothea herself never used the Montenay volume as an album. August gave it to their eldest son Rudolf August shortly after Dorothea's death, when it became the site for her family's mourning after her premature death. Later descendants also used it briefly as a *Stammbuch*. The latter occasion was noteworthy, as her grandson Ludwig Rudolf (1671–1735), son of Anton Ulrich, used it when he became duke of Blankenburg (from 1707). These entries, mainly in French, reflect the changing practices of the eighteenth century. The cataloging of the Montenay volume in the online manuscript catalog of the Herzog August Bibliothek, which has excellent cataloging compared to other institutions, highlights the difficulty in tracking such albums down.

21 See Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova* (1617), fol. 67 (scan 136).

22 See Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova* (1617), fol. 69 (scan 140).

23 See Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova* (1617), printed page 55 (scan 137), Emblem 27; printed page 57 (scan 141), Emblem 28.

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The entry reads "Stammbuch Rudolf Augusts und Ludwig Rudolfs Herzöge von Braunschweig" (Album amicorum of Dukes Rudolf August and Ludwig Rudolf of Braunschweig).[24] Only when one reads further does the entry document its connection to Dorothea. Although the volume is bound in Dorothea's personal binding, which is consistent with that of the Friedrich volume, the Montenay volume does not appear in the provenance catalog among Dorothea's other books mentioned earlier in this article. Privileging the later male ownership in the cataloging of this volume creates difficulties in identifying Dorothea's books and underrepresents her in the historical collections. These modern practices contribute to the problem of the invisibility of women's collections in the public record.

3 Confession and the Emblem

In 1606, one year before Dorothea's birth, all Anhaltine lands became Calvinist, including Zerbst, where Dorothea's father ruled. In 1644, a decade after Dorothea's death, Zerbst returned to Lutheranism.[25] Thus, by the time Dorothea received her emblem books in 1618–19, Calvinism has been established in Anhalt for a little over a decade and the Thirty Years' War had begun. The publication history of these two emblem books sheds light on their devotional and ethical context and suggests how emblematics contributed to her religious education as a dynastic princess.

Dorothea's edition of Friedrich was an expanded German version of an earlier publication from before 1608. The latter book is not known to me, but the title page of the French publication of the 1608 *Emblèmes nouveaux* explains

24 Monterey, *Stammbuch* (http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=224-blank&catalog=Butzmann&hi=stammbuch%20Rudolf%20Ludwig, accessed 10 June 2020). The library description of the manuscript details the provenance from Dorothea. It does not note that it is also a printed emblem book.

25 See Andrew Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, C. 1550–1650* (Leiden: 2010), 132; Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619* (Stuttgart: 1970), 401–11; Heiner Lück, "Calvinismus als Existenzgrundlage für den State?" in *Calvin und Calvinismus: Europäische Perspektiven*, eds. Irene Dingel and Hermann Selderhuis (Göttingen: 2011), 47–66; Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: 2011), 128–131. For quick reference, see the discussion of religion in the *Wikipedia* entry on the Fürstentum Anhalt-Zerbst (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fürstentum_Anhalt-Zerbst, accessed 10 June 2020).

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that it was first published in German.[26] Friedrich followed it in 1611 with a book containing thirty-seven emblems published in Frankfurt.[27] This German edition was followed by enlarged versions in both French and German in 1617.[28] These expanded French and German editions were reprinted in 1644.[29] In contrast to Montenay's emblem book that was published in the polyglot edition that Dorothea owned, Friedrich's emblems appeared separately in French and German. Clearly, Friedrich's book was quite popular and enjoyed six editions/printings in two languages between 1608 and 1644. One reason for its appeal might be found in the full title of the 1617 German edition that Dorothea owned: *Emblemata Nova; das ist / New Bilderbuch: Darinnen durch sonderliche Figuren der jetzigen Welt Lauff und Wesen verdecketer Weise abgemahlet/ und mit zugehörigen Reymen erkläret wirt: Den Ehrliebenden und Frommen zu mehrer Anreitzung der Gottseligkeit vnd Tugend: Den Bösen aber vnd Ruchlosen zu trewer Lehr vnd Warnung* (New Emblems; that is, a new picture book: In which special figures are depicted as enigmas concerning the nature and course of today's world and explained in rhymes. In order for the honor-loving and pious to nurture their godliness and for the evil and wicked to heed pious teaching and admonition).[30] The enigmatic images made the book more attractive,

26 Andreas Friedrich, *Emblèmes nouveaux, ésquels le cours du monde est dépeint … premièrement en allemand … et maintenant en français* (Lyon: 1608). This apparently unique copy is held at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

27 Andreas Friedrich, *Jetziger Welt Lauff: Durch etliche und dreissig Figuren dargestellt und durch deutsche Reymen erkläret* (Frankfurt: 1611) (HAB: Xb 9764; http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-9746/start.htm, accessed 26 June 2020).

28 Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemes Nouveaux esquels Le Cours De Ce Monde Est Depeint Et Representé Par Certaines Figures, desquelles le sens est expliqué par rimes: dreßés Pour plus grande incitation au gens de bien & honrables, d; ensuivre la pieté & vertu, & Pour sincere instruction & advertissement aux meschans & dissolus de fuïr le vice / Premierement En Allemand par André Frideric, & maintenant en François, pour le bien de la jeunesse, & du simple peuple. Mis en lumiere par Jaques Zettre* (Frankfurt: 1617) (HAB: Xb 6551; http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-6551/start.htm, accessed 26 June 2020). For the 1617 German edition, see note 1. The 1617 French edition has also been interleaved with blank pages, presumably for use as a *Stammbuch*.

29 Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemes Nouveaux esquels Le Cours De Ce Monde Est Depeint Et Representé Par Certaines Figures, desquelles le sens est expliqué par rimes: dreßés Pour plus grande incitation au gens de bien & honrables, d' ensuivre la pieté & vertu, & Pour sincere instruction & advertissement aux meschans & dissolus de fuïr le vice / Premierement En Allemand par André Frideric, & maintenant en François, pour le bien de la jeunesse, & du simple peuple. Mis en lumiere par Jaques Zettre* (Frankfurt: 1644) (HAB: Uk 42; http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/uk-42/start.htm, accessed 10 June 2020); Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemata nova: Das ist New Bilderbuch: Darinnen durch sonderliche Figuren der jetzigen Welt Lauff und Wesen … abgemahlet, und mit zugehörigen Reymen erkläret wirt* (Frankfurt: 1644) (HAB: 19.3 Eth. (4); http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/19-3-eth-4/start.htm, accessed 10 June 2020).

30 See n. 1.

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while the rhymes made learning the moral precepts easier, especially for a young reader.

Her great aunt Sophie Hedwig might have considered the illustrations coupled with the moral teachings an enticing way for a young princess, who was growing into the age of marriage, to firm up the foundations of her faith. As a strict Lutheran herself, she may have felt that she had found the ideal volume to prepare her niece for moderate religious views. Emblem VI can serve as an example, whose motto is "Bey Christo allein ist Erquickung zu finden" (In Christ alone can one find renewal). Her foster mother, Elisabeth of Denmark and Duchess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, who was also her step-grandmother, and Augusta of Denmark and Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein Gottorf, another Danish-born great aunt, signed her book at this emblem, establishing a dialog across the printed text and image.[31]

Several details of Friedrich's book are striking and suggest why a predominantly Lutheran emblem book was an appropriate gift for a Calvinist princess. The French scholar Pierre Martin was the first to pose the question of why one would publish a French book in Frankfurt, and I add to his query the question of why the French and German editions were always paired. Who was the audience for these publications? While very little is known about Andreas Friedrich, who lived *c.* 1560 and died after 1617, the publications of increasingly expanded versions of his emblem book suggest that he was widely read in German and French. Lucas Jenner was his Frankfurt publisher and Jakob Zetter supported their publication financially.[32] These men belonged to the circles around the immigrant press established by the well-known Huguenot immigrant Theodor de Bry (1528–98), who first established a studio and press in Frankfurt. His son and successor Johann Theodor de Bry (1561–23) moved it to Oppenheim before 1613 and then back to Frankfurt after the 1620 capture of Oppenheim, which was in Calvinist Palatinate.[33] The de Bry family and their associates apparently addressed a large French Calvinist community in Frankfurt. Dorothea's emblem book, with its moderate approach to Protestantism, as Pierre Martin lays out, clearly appealed to both French and German readers, exiles and permanent residents, and Lutherans and Calvinists.[34]

Dorothea's second emblem book was the 1619 German edition of Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes, ou deuises chrestiennes*, first published in 1567.

31 I have discussed the interplay of the signatures and the emblem in detail in Wade, "Women's Networks of Knowledge," 504–506.

32 Jakob de Zetter (Jakob de Sittert) was a publisher active in Frankfurt from 1619 until 1644, dates which conform precisely to the publication of *Emblemata nova*.

33 Pierre Martin, "'Redimentes tempus': Eschatological Perspective in Andreas Friedrich's *Emblemes nouveaux* (1617)," *Emblematica* 20 (2013): 141–75, here 146–50.

34 Pierre Martin, "'Redimentes tempus,'" 145.

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This book had been in the hands of the publishers since 1561 and was likely withheld, owing to the situation of Protestants in France.[35] It became widely known in its 1571 French edition that was followed by a Latin one in 1584. While the publication history and languages of the printing of Montenay's emblem books deserves further study, it is the 1619 edition of Montenay that Dorothea owned that is of interest here. This edition was issued with both French and Latin epigrams, as in the earlier separate editions, to which were added Spanish, Italian, German, English, and Dutch verses. This polyglot edition was also published in Frankfurt by Johann Karl Unckel, who flourished from 1615 to 1634.[36] It appears that the success of Zetter's publication of the French and German editions of Andreas Friedrich's emblem during the previous year gave impetus to the competitors for the polyglot edition of Montenay's emblems in 1619. Judging by Dorothea's two emblem books, it seems that dynastic women in North Germany were paying attention. One of them, Sophia Hedwig of Pomerania, gave the Friedrich book to young Dorothea von Anhalt. While the binding of the Montenay volume confirms that the Montenay book became part of her collection in 1619, it is unknown who gave the book to the young princess of Anhalt.

Montenay's emblem book seems especially appropriate for a young Calvinist princess such as Dorothea. As Alison Adams notes in her introduction to Montenay on the *Glasgow Emblem Website*, Montenay's emblems are regarded as the first religious emblems ever published. Hers are also the first emblems to be adorned with engravings rather than woodcuts. These emblems challenged the reader to establish, and often complete, their biblical verbal and textual allusions.[37] The book actively engaged the reader's knowledge of the Bible and required thinking and reasoning about ethical issues at an

35 Alison Adams, *French Emblems at Glasgow*, introduction to Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes 1567/1571* (http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOa, accessed 10 June 2020).

36 For a history of the leading Protestant electoral dynasties of Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Saxony, the former two Calvinist, published by Johann Karl Unckel, see *Pfaltz, Sachsen, Brandeburg Historische Beschreybung dero dreyen hochlöblichen weltlichen Churfürsten Pfaltz, Sachsen und Brandeburg Ankunfft, Geschlechten, Succession, Gemahlin, Kindern, Geschichten, Thaten, Leben und endtlichen Absterben. Auch was sich under jedes Regierung … von erster Stifftung Ottonis biss auff gegenwertige Zeit zugetragen* (Frankfurt: 1619). See also Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, "Literature and the Court (1450–1720)," in *Camden House History of German Literature* (Rochester: 2007), 633. According to CERL Theasaurus, "1614 kaufte er [Unckel] zusammen mit dem Drucker Heinrich Starck zu Neustadt a.d.H. die Offizin des Nikolaus Schramm" (http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00031389, accessed 10 June 2020).

37 http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOa, accessed 10 June 2020.

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advanced level. Thus, the presence of Montenay's emblem book in Dorothea's collection suggests that she already knew her catechism and large portions of the Bible. She would have had the tools to develop her personal devotions further with this book of ethical precepts. Both books were attractive owing to their emblematic format of short texts of the mottos and epigrams, accompanied by high quality illustrations.

Dorothea thus owned two Protestant emblem books that came into her possession when she was eleven and twelve years old, respectively. These books were no doubt part of her continued religious education and preparation for marriage to a Protestant prince. While the Montenay volume is considered Calvinist, its title positioned it as a "Christian" emblem book.[38] It had a strong pan-European appeal among all Protestants and can be found in most major European libraries today. As noted above, Pierre Martin has conducted research on Andreas Friedrich's book and explains the complicated relationships between Flemish and Walloon emigrants in the Frankfurt region and their churches, demonstrating that the audience for the French version of Friedrich's emblems was not only, or even primarily, in France. Martin also suggests that the engraver for Friedrich's "Lutheran" emblem book must have been a Calvinist.[39] The moderate tone of the book with the resulting general Protestant approach reflects the hybrid political and religious position of Anhalt itself. While it is certain that her great aunt Sophie Hedwig presented Dorothea with Friedrich's emblem book, it would seem likely that another female relative, perhaps even the same one, gave her the second book by Montenay. Whatever the provenance, at least one female relative was providing Dorothea with reading material that provided a religious point of view that was quite practical and allowed the young princess to navigate everyday life as a Protestant.

It is also striking that the giver of the Montenay book presented the girl with a book written by a woman. In an age where there were precious few books by women that were not only published, but also translated and quite popular, the fact that Dorothea received the only emblem book that had been written by a woman is most striking.[40] It was the emblem book by Friedrich, however, that Dorothea used during her lifetime. Many of the entries into Dorothea's *Stammbuch*, including one by Christian IV, King of Denmark, were written

38 Alison Adams, *French Emblems at Glasgow*, introduction.

39 Pierre Martin, "'Redimentes tempus,'" 141–75.

40 See "Publication History" on the "Glasgow Emblem Website," (http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOa, accessed 10 June 2020). Montenay's book enjoyed six editions until 1620, in French, Latin, and the polyglot edition.

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while she was in Elisabeth's care. The mother of these Danish siblings, Queen Sophie (1557–1631), kept a splendidly bound *album amicorum* with entries from 1585–87.[41] Dorothea's step-grandmother and foster mother Elisabeth would have still been at the Danish court during the 1580s and Dorothea would have seen visitors sign her mother's album and likely reviewed her own dynastic connections within the book. When after her father's death Dorothea traveled to Holstein with Elisabeth, her foster mother ensured that her own royal brother signed the girl's *Stammbuch*. The female practices surrounding the keeping of an album and maintaining dynastic and genealogical awareness were key elements of the orphaned Dorothea's education and family traditions.

The practice of keeping a *Stammbuch* was also well established in Dorothea's husband's family. Duke August kept two *Stammbücher* himself. Both were popular emblem books, Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* and de Bry's *Emblemata*.[42] His brother Franz (1572–1601) also employed an emblem book as a *Stammbuch*, using Nicolaus Reusner's *Leorini Aureolorum Emblematum*.[43] For both men and women, using an emblem book as an album signaled learning and cosmopolitanism.

As Jill Bepler has shown in her detailed study of women's practices of reading, collecting, excerpting, and writing from a young age, girls were tutored in the tenets of the dynasty's faith by continuous rehearsing, copying, and translating of religious texts.[44] These practices helped them internalize the religious teachings of their dynasty. In this sense, a devotional emblem book functioned much like a catechism and, given the primacy of scripture for Protestants, emblems proved extremely popular as each picture was always accompanied by multiple texts of a moralizing nature. Dorothea's emblem books were devotional works that rehearsed basic moral teachings in words, pictures, and, very likely, also through translation. For example, Friedrich's emblem books apparently appeared paired in French and German editions. In addition to the

41 See "Stambog Sophie" (Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 3646, 80). Queen Sophie's album was not an emblem book. See also *Repertorium Album Amicorum* (hereafter RAA) (https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/startseite.html, accessed 10 June 2020).

42 Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata* (Frankfurt: 1567) (HAB: Cod. Guelf. 230 Noviss. 8°; http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/230-noviss-8f/start.htm); Theodor de Bry, *Emblemata* (Frankfurt: 1592) (HAB: Cod. Guelph 84.6 Aug. 8°). For a facsimile of the de Bry's 1592 *Emblemata*, see Wolfgang Harms and Maria von Katte, *Emblemata* (Stuttgart: 1979).

43 [Stammbuch Herzog Franz von Braunschweig], Nicolaus Reusner, *Nicolai Reusneri Leorini Aureolorum Emblematum* (Strasbourg: 1587) (Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Stammbücher der HAAB Weimar 1743; urn:nbn:de:gbv:32-1-10017438925, accessed 10 June 2020). I want to thank Jill Bepler, Wolfenbüttel, for alerting me to this *Stammbuch*.

44 See Bepler, "Sophia Hedwig von Pommern," 191–210.

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early translation from French into Latin, Montenay's emblems were printed in the polyglot edition in 1619, the edition Dorothea owned. Thus, women and girls could internalize their faith through reading, excerpting, and translating these devotional emblems.[45] To offer an analogy, Jean Woods carefully laid out how women repurposed books for their own education, showing how, once the German poet Martin Opitz had published his 1624 handbook of German versification, *Buch von der Deutschen Poetery*, followed shortly thereafter by his collection of example German verses in his *Teutsche Poemata*, women had the rule book at their fingertips together with concrete examples on which to model their own original verse in German.[46] Similarly, the emblem books served as illustrated catechisms for the instruction of girls and could have been repurposed for translation exercises. As Alison Adams notes, Montenay's book required an active reader who could complete the biblical citations and contexts of her devotional emblems. Unfortunately, there are no manuscript marginalia in either book that suggest these sorts of activities, but this does not preclude their use as practical manuals for instruction. The translations were already incorporated into Montenay's book, for example, and would have compactly served reading practice in other languages.

That both books were *Stammbücher* is significant. There are several cases of Montenay's emblems used as a *Stammbuch*. Of the seven different albums that were editions of Montenay listed in the online resource *Repertorium Album Amicorum*, the two belonging to women were owned by some of the highest-ranking women in the empire; one album was kept by Duchess Barbara Sophie of Württemberg (1586–1636), daughter of the Brandenburg Elector Joachim Friedrich, and the other by Electress Magdalena Sibylle of Saxony (1586–1659), daughter of Duke Albrecht Friedrich von Preussen.[47] These older women who

45 With specific regard to funeral sermons, see Jill Bepler, "Women's Books and Dynastic Networks in Early Modern Germany," in *Der Hof: Ort kulturellen Handelns von Frauen in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Susanne Rode-Breymann and Antje Tumat (Cologne: 2013), 295–312, here 297.

46 Jean Woods, "Opitz and the Women Poets," in *Opitz und seine Welt: Festschrift für Georg Schluz-Behrend* (*Chloe*, 10), eds. Barbara Becker-Cantarino and Jörg-Ulrich Fechner (Amsterdam: 1990): 569–86.

47 *RAA*. For the album kept by Barbara Sophia of Württemberg, see Georgette de Montenay, *Emblematum christianorum centuria—Cent emblemes chrestienes* (koloriert) (Zurich: 1584) (Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Hs. Durlach 10). For the one kept by Magdalena Sibylle of Saxony, see Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemata* (Zurich: 1584) (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. 8° 303). For a list of the holders of the Montenay albums including these two, see "Montenay," in the *RAA*. The *RAA* firmly states that the book once attributed to Barbara Sophia actually belonged to her sister, Anna Catharina, Queen of Denmark. This can hardly be the case since the first entries in

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owned the 1584 edition of Montenay firmly established the practice of princely women from Protestant lands using Montenay as their album. The female authorship apparently had a strong appeal for Protestant women who used emblem books as their *Stammbücher*.

4 Conclusion: Dorothea's Emblematic *Stammbücher*

An emblem book used as a *Stammbuch* documented one's social position in a two-fold manner. First the book—its title, author, and content—located the owner in a particular intellectual milieu. In Dorothea's case her specifically Protestant emblem books aligned her with a non-contentious version of Protestantism that offered practical moral advice for living in a complex world. It also associated her with high-ranking social elites. Second, the manuscript entries documented the position of the individual in a much wider familial network. Dorothea was expected to marry, move to the court of her husband, and represent her birth court and dynasty of Anhalt for the rest of her life. These emblem books prepared her to negotiate a religious transition as well: for a life as a Calvinist princess at a Lutheran court, which happened when she married Herzog August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in 1623.

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Repertorium Album Amicorum. https://raa.gf-franken.de.

the album were made by Anna Catharina and Christian IV of Denmark. Since one did not sign one's own album, the assertion made in the *RAA* must be in error.

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CHAPTER 10

"Rebellious Sister?" Mary of Hungary, Queen-Regent of the Netherlands, 1531–1555

Victoria Christman

In 1531, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V installed his younger sister, Mary of Hungary, as queen-regent of the Netherlands, a challenging and powerful position she was to occupy for almost a quarter century. Despite her very public life and active political record, Mary remains something of an enigma for historians. Opinions of Mary varied widely even during her lifetime. Her own subjects were fickle in their assessment of her reign, alternately lauding her for her "practical wisdom and political skill,"[1] and condemning her love of hunting as an indication of laziness and pride.[2] Bishop Johann Fabri of Vienna castigated Mary for her humanistic and potentially heterodox religiosity, labeling her a "rebellious sister."[3] Mary added her own voice to the varied assessments of her career. In her abdication letter, penned in 1555, she provided a bleak self-appraisal in which she recounted and lamented what she perceived to be her many shortcomings, presenting a view of herself as a woman trapped in a man's world, unable on account of her gender to successfully execute the duties of her position.

This chapter seeks to evaluate the veracity of these various and contradictory claims. It asks whether it is in fact the case that during her twenty-four years of service as queen-regent Mary was a weak leader, unable to rule effectively in large part due to the weaknesses inherent in her sex, or was she, as Fabri asserts, a religious rebel, recklessly walking the line of heterodox belief in her own life and in her public actions? An examination of her record as a ruler, viewed against the backdrop of the judgments made by her contemporaries, makes it impossible to conclude that Mary was a political failure. Rather, any sustained

1 Laetitia V. G. Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije regentes der Nederlanden: Een politieke analyse op basis van haar regentschapsordonnanties en haar correspondentie met Karel V* (Hilversum: 1995), 12–13.

2 Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije*, 9 and 69.

3 Quoted in B. J. Spruyt, "'En bruit d'estre bonne luteriene': Mary of Hungary (1505–58) and Religious Reform," *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 275–307, here 276.

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consideration of her leadership reveals her to have been effective on almost all fronts. She was a skilled diplomat, keen strategist, and a wise advisor to her brother the emperor. She was also a determined and resilient politician, who clung resolutely to her beliefs and plans, even when doing so brought her into direct conflict with her subjects, peers, and superiors. Her own negative self-assessment can be seen as the result of her frustrations at having to bear the burden of the poor decisions of her imperial brother and overlord. The conclusion that presents itself most forcefully is that in labeling her a religious rebel, Fabri made an astute observation regarding her independence of mind and action. The epithet he created is a misnomer, however, in so far as it mistakes for heterodoxy what was in fact Mary's determined autonomy, exercised not primarily in the service of heterodox belief, but in pursuit of her own political agenda and the exercise and maintenance of her power. Her self-deprecating resignation letter appears, when read in this light, as strategically disingenuous. It serves as one more example of Mary's ability to use all arguments in her arsenal to negotiate the outcome she wanted. In this case, she called upon the very gender stereotypes against which she had fought throughout her career to bolster her case for stepping down.

As the story of a woman forced to operate in what remained an overwhelmingly male-dominated world, Mary of Hungary's story belongs in a volume dedicated to the work of Susan Karant-Nunn. The parallels are imperfect, but Mary certainly serves as a sixteenth-century example of the same characteristics of resilience and determination required of a female scholar of the Reformation in the late twentieth-century to succeed. There are echoes of Susan's own personal fortitude in navigating the academic landscape of her early career and her unwavering loyalty to her peers and students in the story of this sixteenth-century ruler who skillfully charted her own path in an increasingly complex world.

1 Mary's Self-Assessment: A Woman in a Man's World

By far the most scathing indictment of Mary's efficacy as a ruler came from Mary herself. In her resignation letter she reflects at length on the various functions she performed as queen-regent of the Netherlands, punctuating her taxonomy with pointed critiques of her abilities, her performance, and the treatment she received from those over whom she ruled. The purpose of her letter was to seek Charles's blessing for her retirement. In it, she beseeches her brother to allow her to accompany him and their sister Eleanor to Spain in

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order that she might live as a "private person" geographically removed from the Netherlands and thus unable to be drawn back into the affairs of state.[4]

Her letter is structured as an argument in which she makes two parallel claims. First, she contends that she has earned the right to set aside her duties as ruler, having faithfully served in her post for a quarter century. In addition, she makes a second, more debatable assertion that, although she dedicated herself unwaveringly to her service as regent, she was not in fact particularly successful in that role. She argues that Charles should allow her to step down, in part because she was an ineffective ruler anyway and her inability, Mary makes clear, was almost entirely a function of her gender. The fact that she was a woman rendered her fundamentally incapable of ruling well as regent of the Netherlands.

Hers is a harsh self-assessment indeed, and we must ask whether we can take at face value her extreme claims of ineptitude. Was it in fact impossible to rule well as a woman in the sixteenth century? There is no shortage of evidence by which to judge such a claim. Mary found herself in remarkably good company as a woman in a position of political leadership in the early modern world. England, Scotland, Castile, and Navarre were all ruled by queens or female regents for significant portions of the century. Several of these women ruled, like Mary, as spinsters or widows, possessing a liminality that some historians have claimed made them appear less threatening to their male counterparts, thereby enabling them to negotiate across otherwise hostile lines.[5] Such an argument suggests that Mary's status as a woman and a widow would actually have benefited her as a ruler. On what basis, then, does she argue to the contrary?

In her letter, Mary points to her gender as having limited her ability to act and as having caused her a significant degree of psychological discomfort. In it, she asserts that her "inadequacies and deficiencies as a ruler" always deeply troubled her conscience, emphasizing that she felt "unable *as a woman* to govern or to satisfy king or God."[6] Her very being, she insists, prevented her from serving her people, her emperor, or even her God as a male ruler could. She perceives her gender as such a hindrance, in fact, as to argue that "the incompetence (*l'inepteté*) of a woman as opposed to a man is as great as the

4 "pour vivre le reste de ma vie comme personne privée." Mary of Hungary to Charles v, August 1555, in Charles Weiss, ed., *Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Besançon* (Paris: 1843), vol. 4, 469–80, here 476.

5 Robert Bucholz and Carole Levin, eds., *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln: 2009), xxiii.

6 "mon insuffisance et incapacité, comme femme, de pouvoir gouverner, comme aussy pour satisfaire envers Dieu à mondict vœu." Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, vol. 4, 470. Emphasis added.

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difference between black and white."[7] She goes on to explain that when a female leader is a widow, the limitations of her sex are compounded such that she "is *completely unable* to fulfill her duties."[8] Although widowhood provided a particular sort of freedom to women such as Mary, enabling them to function independently of the guardianship of a male head of household, Mary assessed her own widowed status as detrimental.

According to her letter, the troubles Mary faced as a regent, woman, and widow were heightened in times of war when any regent is prone to attract the blame of her subjects. This assertion certainly applies directly to Mary's reign in the Low Countries when many of the wars for which she sought financial support were deeply unpopular among her subjects. Mary argues that her position was made worse by the fact that because she was a woman, the generals were wont to ignore her advice, yet quick to pass the blame on to her when things went wrong.[9] As a result, she was forced to endure "constant defamation" on account of Charles's military exploits.[10]

A brief survey of the correspondence between Charles and Mary reveals quite clearly that her brother often chose to exercise his imperial power by patently ignoring her advice, even when it was sound. Her letter portrays her frustrations with such situations. By the mid-1530s, Charles had amassed an enormous budget deficit in his territories in the Low Countries. In the same period, war with France loomed, as did the need for money to fund it and Mary urged him to return to the Netherlands from Spain, ideally bringing the necessary funds with him.[11] Charles, however, was in no position to produce such monies. Instead, he stayed where he was and instructed Mary to reinforce the existing taxation of the territory, insisting that she extend or renegotiate those tax agreements that were due to expire in 1536. Mary complied, having no choice but to follow the will of her emperor. But the provinces were tired of his unrelenting financial demands and angry at the redirection of their tax contributions to wars they considered foreign. They responded by demanding that their funds be used to protect their own borders. Keenly aware of their growing

7 "de l'inepteté de la femme envers l'homme, il a aultant à dire que du blanc au noir." Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, vol. 4, 473.

8 "ce que la femme, principalement estant vefve, ne peult faire comm'il seroit requis." Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, vol. 4, 474. Emphasis added.

9 Helmut G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments. The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: 2001), 154.

10 "le déshonneur perpétuel." Weiss, *Papiers d'État*, vol. 4, 476. She makes the same point in vol. 4, 474–75.

11 Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 137. Koenigsberger notes that the budget deficit rose from 330,000 livres in 1534 to over 500,000 the following year (137).

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impatience, Mary admonished Charles to make peace with France.[12] Again he did not heed her advice, to his own detriment. The war went poorly, and his relationship with his subjects in the Low Countries was permanently harmed.

Nor were Charles's military advisors wise to ignore Mary's strategic counsel, as it was often more astute than their own. At the end of 1552 Charles contemplated an attack on the city of Metz, which the German princes had transferred to French control. The city was a key point on the trade route between Italy and the Netherlands, and consequently of significant strategic importance to France. On paper, Charles's plan was sound, but Mary knew the region well and tried to dissuade her brother from this course of action, convinced that the attack would fail if executed during winter. As in so many other instances, he ignored her sage advice to the detriment of his dignity and his finances. The attack on Metz was to be one of the emperor's most expensive mistakes.[13]

It is difficult to assess the degree to which gender played a role in the way Charles and his generals treated Mary in these situations. It could well be that they ignored her in part because they viewed her, as a woman, to be fundamentally unqualified to judge in such matters, yet this was not an argument that they voiced overtly. The only one in fact, who openly critiqued her on the basis of her gender was Mary herself. Indeed, her own brothers roundly dismissed any arguments that focused on her sex as a cause of weakness. In the very early days of her reign, Mary wrote a series of letters to Ferdinand over a six-month period in 1533 in which she complained of excessive headaches, a condition which may have been the result of a fall from her horse.[14] Her pain was so intense, she claimed, that it was difficult for her to write. In one letter she remarks that headaches such as hers "often afflict women," again forging a gendered explanation for her current weakness. Unmoved, Ferdinand instructed his sister to stop apologizing so much. He suggested that she should dictate her letters if her headaches prevented her from writing, and asserted that "such complaints affect men just as much as women,"[15] thereby dismissing her feminization of her condition. Ferdinand clearly considered her claims

12 Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 138. Koenigsberger argues that Charles's problems in the Netherlands were exacerbated by the fact that no sense of unity existed among the provinces in the territory or among Charles's many subject lands (157). His "empire" was thus one in name only, and one territory was reluctant to give money that was to be used to wage war in another.

13 Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 154.

14 Christopher F. Laferl and Christina Lütter, "'Innere' und 'äußere' Autonomie einer Fürstin der Frühen Neuzeit. Maria von Ungarn am Beginn ihrer niederländischen Statthalterschaft (1531–1534)," *Frühneuzeit-Info* 8 (1997): 170–77, here 172.

15 Quoted in Laferl and Lütter, "'Innere' und 'äußere' Autonomie," 173.

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of weakness to be without foundation. It could be argued that Mary's treatment by Charles and his military advisors was conditioned by their views of her gender, but there is little evidence outside of this possibility to support Mary's contention that her status as a woman made her unable to rule. It may have rendered her ignored, and therefore prone to frustration, but her innate abilities remained evident nonetheless.

2 Mary's Youth: The Reluctant Ruler

Mary's frustration is palpable on every page of her resignation letter. Although she places much of the blame for her exasperation in her situation as a woman, other correspondence from throughout her life suggests that she was never enthusiastic about the possibility of serving as a regent. As a daughter of the most powerful house in early modern Europe, she might have expected such duties to fall to her, but each time her male relatives sought to place her in such a role, she attempted (almost always fruitlessly) to resist.

Born in 1505, Mary was the fifth of the six children of King Philip I of Castile and Juana of Castile-Aragon. Membership in such a powerful family necessarily brought with it expectations of public service, and her family ensured that she was well prepared for such work. Mary was raised in the Netherlands alongside her older brother Charles and sisters Eleanor and Isabella, first by the dowager duchess Margaret of York and then, after her death, by Margaret of Austria. She was therefore familiar with the people and customs of the fiercely independent territory over which she would later rule.[16] From Margaret, Mary learned the skills of a Habsburg regent and the diplomatic expertise expected of a successful female ruler.

Mary's first regency came as a result of the premature death of her young husband, King Louis of Hungary. Mary was officially married to Louis in 1515 when she was just ten years-old, joining him at his court six years later in 1521. Her reign as queen consort was cut short by Louis's untimely death at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 as he fought the Turkish armies that were encroaching upon Hungary's eastern border.[17] His death threw the territory into a state of panic. It also transformed his young wife from a queen consort to a queen-regnant, a leadership role with which she was deeply uncomfortable. Upon

16 Lisa Hopkins, *Women Who Would be Kings: Female Rulers of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: 1991), 152.

17 Sharon Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 2002), 98.

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Louis' death, Mary reached out to her brother Ferdinand, imploring him to come to Hungary, relieve her of her post, and assume control of the situation himself. But Ferdinand was occupied with events in Bohemia and instead appointed Mary regent of the territory, the very role she had sought to avoid. She served in that position for just under a year, working diligently and successfully to extricate herself from the regency, which she managed to do by securing Ferdinand's coronation as king of Hungary in October 1527.[18]

Mary's widowhood at just twenty years of age made her an attractive match for another well-positioned potential spouse. In the months after she freed herself from the regency of Hungary, Charles and Ferdinand twice sought an advantageous match for Mary, both of which she rejected. In 1528, she rebuffed the brothers' attempts to join her to James V of Scotland. Two years later, she opposed their plans to secure a union with Frederick of Bavaria.[19] Mary's intractable stance on this issue is an early indication of her tenacity and independence. In this case, she was sufficiently resolute in her resistance that Ferdinand and Charles eventually gave up, and no more suggestions of marriage were forced upon her.

Having failed in their attempts to use Mary as a marital pawn in the strengthening of the Habsburg empire, Charles and Ferdinand determined to find a place for her as a regent. In several iterations of his will, Charles emphasized the importance of selecting his regents wisely, carefully delineating the character traits he deemed necessary in finding family members suitable for these positions. He was particularly concerned with the regency of his Netherlandish holdings. In early versions of his will, Charles planned to leave the Netherlands to his daughter upon his death. Following the 1540 revolt in Ghent, however, he changed his mind, deciding instead that the territory required firmer oversight and would be better ruled by his son, Philip. He advised Philip that he ought to fill the regency of the Netherlands with a close family member who could be trusted implicitly.[20] When Charles sought his own regent to serve in the Netherlands, Mary's upbringing, childlessness, and recent widowhood rendered her perfectly suited for the position. Moreover, she had proven herself an able ruler during her short tenure as a dowager regent in Hungary prior to Ferdinand's accession to the throne. The only hindrance to her assumption of the regency in the Netherlands was the simple fact that she did not want it.

18 Jansen, *Monstrous Regiment*, 99.

19 Jansen, *Monstrous Regiment*, 99.

20 Jochen A. Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die Antireformatorische Religionspolitik Kaiser Karls V. in den Siebzehn Provinzen der Niederlande 1515–1555* (Leiden: 2004), 47–51.

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After Charles and Ferdinand first approached her about the position at Augsburg in 1530, Mary demurred for some time. She eventually accepted the regency with great trepidation and only as a result of the unrelenting insistence of her brothers. She corresponded about the regency with both of her brothers, Ferdinand repeatedly encouraging her to accept the position.[21] Once she acquiesced and the matter was settled, Charles sent her an official letter of invitation in January 1531, and she was installed as queen-regent in July of the same year.

3 Mary as Regent: Stubborn Independence

After she settled into her role as queen-regent, Mary showed no signs of any "feminine weakness" in her political dealings. In fact, if we examine Mary's actions themselves rather than her late-life reflections on them, they reveal her to have been an independent ruler who was decisive and determined in all aspects of her reign. One of the areas in which Mary demonstrated her unwavering resolve was on the issue of political matrimony. Just as she had resisted the marriages her brothers had sought to arrange for her, Mary inserted herself into the negotiations regarding her niece, Christina, in order to contest the plans Charles was making for her. When Mary took over the regency of the Netherlands in 1531, she inherited the guardianship of her nieces, Christina and Dorothea of Denmark. While Christina was still a ten-year-old child, Charles became determined to secure for her a marriage with Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan, a man almost four times her age.[22] Mary insisted that Christina not contract a marriage at such a young age, no matter the imperial benefits of the match, yet despite her most energetic opposition, Charles forged ahead with the marriage, demanding its immediate consummation. Although Mary was again forced to acquiesce to her brother's will, she found creative ways to subvert Charles's plan and stall the union. First, she feigned illness on the part of Christina, postponing the marriage for a little while. Thereafter, she ensured that her niece was traveling at key moments in the negotiations, delaying the nuptials yet further. Mary was unable to postpone the marriage indefinitely, but she did manage to delay Christina's departure for a couple of years, enabling her niece to reach the age of twelve before she was forced to travel to Milan to join her new spouse.[23]

21 Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije*, 115–17; Spruyt, "En bruit," 290.

22 Laferl and Lütter, "'Innere' und 'äußere' Autonomie," 175.

23 Jansen, *Monstrous Regiment*, 100–101.

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In addition to her willingness to openly oppose her brother's marital machinations, Mary was also a savvy and tenacious financial manager. Her independence is evident in the way she dispersed money and the persistence with which she sought recompense from her debtors. Both sides of her financial policies are apparent in her actions following the takeover of the German city of Münster by religious rebels in 1534–35. With other leaders across the Empire, Mary sent financial assistance to the beleaguered prince-bishop and former city rulers of Münster, who found themselves ousted from the city and embroiled in a long and costly battle to take it back. Mary's aid took the form of a 10,000-guilder loan. In 1538, three years after the capitulation of the rebels, she exchanged a series of letters with Bishop Franz von Waldeck and his sister-in-law the Countess Anna von Waldeck in an attempt to secure repayment of the remaining debt. The correspondence demonstrates Mary's resolute diplomatic character and method. Her letters express her humanity and sympathy for the rulers of Münster even as she reiterates the terms of the original agreement and demands restitution of the outstanding debt.[24] After explaining her own trials, which "daily result in significant and burdensome costs," she insists that the bishop pay the debt remaining to her, reminding him that she aided him willingly when he (and his city) were most in need.[25]

Realizing that her financial demands were easier to ignore in her absence, but equally unable to make them in person, she sent a representative, Reynoult van Bourmania, to collect the debt on her behalf.[26] She insisted that the bishop hand the remaining debt over to Reynoult, and that he treat him "with as much respect as if he were me."[27] As the correspondence continues and the loan remains unpaid, Mary invokes the name of Charles as an added incentive to timely payment. Letters written the following year from the bishop back to Mary reveal his increasingly desperate attempts to fulfill her wishes. He first took her demands to the estates and the Cathedral canons before finally securing a partial payment (500 of the almost 8,000 guilders remaining) from

24 This series of letters between Mary, the prince-bishop, and Anna von Waldeck can be found in Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen [LAV NRW W], Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten 518/519.

25 "dagelycx groote ende zware costen / doen ende lyden moeten … in hueren noode wael ende duechdelyck gekent." LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X28b, Mary of Hungary to the Prince-Bishop of Münster (16 May 1538).

26 See LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X28b (4 May 1538).

27 "gehoor ende geloove geven als ons selven." LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X28c (6 December 1538).

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Anna von Waldeck.[28] It is unclear whether Mary ever received full payment from the officials in Münster, but this series of letters reveals some of the characteristics of her diplomacy that later would become apparent in all of her dealings with fellow rulers; she was kind but firm, and above all, persistent. This same tenacity was also evident in her religious policies. Her stubborn single-mindedness in this complicated area of her reign brought her into conflict with regional rulers, and at times even with the emperor himself.

4 Mary's Religious Self: An Unruly Ruler

When she assumed her position in 1531, Mary stepped into an explosive religious situation in the Low Countries, where Charles was fighting to curtail the many inroads already made by the Reformation in the territory. Mary herself was not free of sympathy for the new religious learning. Prior to Louis's death, the two had developed an intellectually active culture at their court in Hungary, which included open debate of religious questions. Many members of court had evangelical sympathies. The brothers Georg and Albrecht of Brandenburg, for instance, corresponded with Martin Luther and provided the Hungarian court with Lutheran books.[29] Although Mary and Louis are perhaps best categorized as Erasmians, they did read several of Luther's works. In addition, Mary refused to enforce anti-Lutheran legislation that was on the books in Hungary, thereby protecting heretical voices in the territory and in her own court circle.[30]

Charles was well aware of Mary's dubious religious proclivities when he approached her about the regency. Nor was this a decision that the emperor took lightly. When he discussed the subject with Mary in Augsburg in 1530, he told her emphatically that should she accept the appointment, he would demand that she leave all of her suspect court members behind.[31] In her official letter of appointment, he defined her two most important functions as strengthening

28 See LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X118a (26 January 1539); LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X118b (27 January 1539); LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X130a (18 March 1539); LAV NRW W, Fürstbischof Münster, Landesarchiv, Wiedertäufer, Akten X207 (27 January 1545) respectively.

29 Spruyt, "En bruit," 279, who quotes a letter from Hans von Planitz to Frederick the Wise, in which von Planitz makes this claim.

30 Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die Antireformatorische Religionspolitik*, 257.

31 For Charles' reference to this conversation in a letter of January 1531, see Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussels, *Papieren van Staat en Audiëntie*, 47, fol. 12–16. See also Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die Antireformatorische Religionspolitik*, 261.

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the central government and opposing the spread of heresy.[32] When he articulated the weight of Mary's charge, he did so with a thinly veiled threat: "Make no mistake about it, if I found out that my father, mother, sister, wife, or children were infected with the Lutheran heresy, I would count them among my greatest enemies."[33]

Mary was sufficiently chastened by Charles's warning that she did leave her most controversial advisors behind when she left Hungary, but this does not mean that she renounced her own beliefs and friendships upon arriving in the Low Countries. Rather, when it came to her personal relationships with heterodox actors, Mary followed a practice of silent disregard for the emperor's commands. Her Hungarian father-confessor, Johann Henckel, serves as one example of her religious independence. Henckel was well known for his heterodox tendencies, and Mary was wise enough to obey Charles's orders and leave him behind in Hungary. She did, however, manage to stretch the terms of her brother's prohibition. Although she left Henckel in Hungary she corresponded with him regularly and kept him on her payroll for the remainder of his life.[34] What is more, on her arrival in the Netherlands, Mary replaced Henckel with an equally controversial choice, Pierre Alexandre, who had formally been indicted on charges of heresy in 1542. A summary of his beliefs includes all the hallmarks of the reformist message.[35] Alexandre's arrest was ordered by Petro de Soto, father-confessor of Charles V, but Alexandre was tipped off in advance (likely by Mary), managed to flee and was condemned in absentia.[36] The presence of Alexandre in Mary's court as late as 1542 bears witness to her ongoing interest in controversial religious ideas and her willingness to disobey the wishes of her brother and emperor on matters of religion and friendship.

Mary employed similar tactics in her choice of correspondents, among them Cornelis Grapheus, humanist and secretary of the city of Antwerp.

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32 Spruyt, "En bruit," 291.

33 "Je vous declaire, si javoye pere, mere, frere, seur, femme, ou enfans, qui fussent infectez de la secte Lutherane, je les tiendroye pour les plus grantz ennemiz." Charles V, 7 October 1531. Quoted in Jacob G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der Kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531* (Amsterdam: 1873), 610. Scheffer claims that the quotation is taken from a letter of Andries Jacobs, Antwerp pensionary, who was present during this conversation.

34 Jacqueline Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof* (*1505–1558*) (Hilversum: 2008), 60–61.

35 See Francisco de Enzinas, *Historia de Statu Belgico deque Religione Hispanica*, ed. Francisco Socas (Leipzig: 1991). This work includes the most complete discussion of Alexandre's case, written by his contemporary and fellow inmate, Francisco de Enzinas.

36 Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die Antireformatorische Religionspolitik*, 357–58. According to Fühner, Alexandre found sanctuary in the court of Mary's niece, Dorothea in Heidelberg.

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An accomplished poet, orator, and historian, Grapheus had a lively interest in questions of religion, which led to his arrest on heresy charges a decade prior to Mary's arrival as regent.[37] In 1521, he published *de Libertate Christiana* of Johannes Pupper van Gogh, fifteenth-century Augustinian prior and critic of the late medieval church, in which van Gogh posited a version of what Luther was to call *sola scriptura*, and emphasized man's unassailable condition mired in original sin. To the work's already controversial contents Grapheus inserted his own preface, in which he condemned Roman practices such as indulgences, confession, and good works, criticized what he considered to be the inflated power of the pope, and openly praised Luther. It was this addition for which he was arrested.[38] Grapheus was also known to possess at least one early quarto version of Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*.[39] The possession of Luther's works was already illegal in Antwerp by this time, a fact of which Grapheus would have been well aware as secretary of the city. One year later, at his own recantation, Grapheus would be forced to watch the public burning of Luther's writings, prominent among them this very work.[40]

At the time of Grapheus's arrest in 1521, Margaret of Austria was queen-regent of the Netherlands, and her attempts to definitively stamp out all early forms of religious dissent resulted in a sentence of imprisonment for Grapheus. His incarceration was short, but he suffered its repercussions for many years. Once released, he was stripped of his position as secretary, and spent the next twenty years destitute. However, despite the fact that he was a fallen official with a conviction and prison term to his name, Mary established a close correspondence with Grapheus when she became queen-regent in 1531, which she maintained for over a decade. It may well have been she who was behind his

37 Eugen Ehrmann, "Scribonius Grapheus, Cornelius," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: 1875–1912; rpt. Berlin: 1967–70), vol. 33, 487–88. Online version of the ADB: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119824965.html?anchor=adb, accessed 30 May 2020.

38 Information on Grapheus's case can be found in Jos Andriessen, "Het Geestelijke en Godsdienstige Klimaat," in *Antwerpen in de XVI^de Eeuw*, ed. Walter Couvreur (Antwerp: 1975), 203–32; J. Alton Templin, "Cornelis Grapheus (1482–1558): A Humanist Scholar of the Netherlands who Recanted," *The Iliff Review* 36 (1979): 3–19; Paul Fredericq, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae* (The Hague: 1889–1906), vol. 4, docs. 107, 108, 129.

39 See William Martin Conway, ed. and trans., *The Writings of Albrecht Dürer* (New York: 1958), 123n2. The tract, *Von der Babylonischen gefengknuss der Kirchen*, was printed in 1520 without place or date, and Grapheus gave it as a gift to Albrecht Dürer after the two became friends earlier in the same year.

40 For details on his arrest and recantation, see Gert Gielis, *Verdoelde Schaepkens, Bytende Wolven: Inquisitie in de Lage Landen* (Leuven: 2009), 85–86.

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reinstatement as city secretary in 1540, a covert exercise of power in the service of a friend.[41]

It remains a somewhat puzzling paradox that, while Mary continued to harbor heterodox advisors and friends, she was simultaneously charged with overseeing a stringent program of religious prosecution in the Low Countries. Her appointment as queen-regent occurred at an important moment in the fight against heresy in the Netherlands. In 1529 her predecessor Margaret of Austria penned a new anti-heresy edict, which went far beyond any previous legislation in both the breadth of its definition of heresy and the extent of the punishments it imposed.[42] Thus, when Mary took office in 1531, she found herself legally compelled to prosecute as heretics those who sold, read, or simply possessed forbidden works.[43] Six months earlier at her court in Hungary, she herself would have fallen into this category. It does not appear that Mary pursued the anti-heresy policies of her brother reluctantly. On the contrary, in many cases she served as the driving force behind the trials, even when doing so brought her into conflict with local officials, and on one occasion the emperor himself. In each case, Mary's stubborn persistence is evident, as is her ability to wield her power and authority with great determination.

Although she exhibited some interest in Reformation thought, Mary was not sympathetic to all ideas of reform, particularly those on the more radical end of the theological spectrum. While still in Hungary she had expressed an unwillingness to persecute religious radicals. She even went so far as to quote Luther in this regard, and send one of his works on the Anabaptists (likely *Von der Widertäufer* of 1528) to her brother Ferdinand, provoking his immediate ire.[44] When these religious rebels appeared in their most extreme form in Münster and then threatened the city of Amsterdam shortly thereafter, Mary changed her mind. Her new animosity soon extended to any form of sectarian group she perceived as potentially seditious. Almost ten years after the takeover of Münster, Mary lashed out against a group of radical sectarians led by Eligius Pruystinck (also known as Eloy de Schaliedecker), who were arrested in Deventer and Antwerp. She took direct charge of this trial despite the fact

41 For details of Grapheus's case, see F. G. Ullens, *Antwerpsch Chronykje, in het welk zeer veele en elders te vergeefsch gezogte geschiedenissen, sedert den jare 1500 tot het haar 1574 … naar deszelfs aldaar ontdekte Handschrift, voor de eerstemaal in't licht gebracht* (Leiden: 1743), 18–22; Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die Antireformatorische Religionspolitik*, 357–58.

42 Aline Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes dans les Pays-Bas Meridionaux, 1520–1633* (Brussels: 1997), vol. 1, 51–53.

43 Full text in C. Laurent and J. Lameere, eds., *Recueil des Ordonnances des Pays-Bas. Deuxième Série, 1506–1700* (Brussels: 1898–1922), vol. 2, 578–83.

44 Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije*, 104–105.

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that it fell under the legal jurisdiction of each city's councilors according to the terms of Charles's anti-heresy legislation.

Pruystinck and his followers were well-known in the city of Antwerp. Nine of them had previously been arrested in the mid-1520s, but at that time the city council released all of them with only minimal penalties.[45] Distrustful of their willingness to impose harsh penalties on this group in the 1540s after their failure to do so twenty years earlier, Mary took matters into her own hands. She had Pruystinck transferred to her officials in Brussels, who interrogated him before sending him back to Antwerp. Mary informed the Antwerp magistrate that the Council of Brabant had judged Pruystinck a relapsed heretic and demanded that the city fathers burn him.[46] Under the watchful eye of the queen-regent and her officials, the Antwerp council executed him the following week.

Mary's suspicion that the Antwerp city fathers would be too lenient in the Pruystinck trials if left to their own devices proved well-founded, as is evident in the outcome of three trials over which the municipal court did manage to retain control. The judges sentenced the first of these suspects, Adriaan Stevens, to a fine of one thousand gilders, which he paid, and he was consequently released.[47] Upon hearing of this light sentence, Mary sent her representative Jacob Boone to oversee the remaining trials. As a result, Stevens was the only one of the group to be sentenced by the Antwerp court without the oversight of Mary and her officials. He was also the only one to receive a light sentence. The remaining convicts were all sentenced to death on 27 February 1545 and beheaded the following day.[48] In this case, as in others like it, Mary's intervention was swift and decisive. When openly opposed by the local officials she stood her ground, maintained a firm hand, and established close oversight until her demands were followed. She acted both as a strong ruler by taking charge of the situation, but also as a somewhat unruly one who inserted herself in ways that were jurisdictionally questionable. In this instance however,

45 This initial trial resulted only in the burning of their books, recantation, and the performance of public penance. Pruystinck was even allowed to continue to reside in the city at the close of the case.

46 Julius Frederichs, *De Secte der Loïsten of Antwerpsche Libertijnen (1525–1545): Eligius Pruystinck (Loy de Schaliedecker) en zijne Aanhangers* (Ghent: 1891), LI.

47 Jan Schot, (cloth merchant) stood bail for Stevens. Frederichs, *De Secte der Loïsten*, LIII; Paul Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* [hereafter as *AA*] (Antwerp: 1864–93), vol. 8, 327.

48 Mary insisted that the Antwerp magistracy "tegen den zelven achtervolgende den placcaten der Keiserlycke Majesteit onsen heeren ende broeders sommierlyck te procederen als relaps die mitten vieren tot exemple van eenen yegelyck behoirt geexecuteert te worden naeden voirseiden ordonnantie ende die wy willen strictelyck geachtervolght ende geobserveert wordden." Frederichs, *De Secte der Loïsten*, Appendix XXXI, 34 (Mary of Hungary to the magistrate of Antwerp, 18 October 1544).

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she could assume the support of her imperial family, as her actions upheld the determinedly orthodox stance of the Habsburg religious agenda.

It was extremely rare that she directly opposed the authority of Charles when dealing with religious prosecutions, but it did happen. One case in particular, involving a New Christian named Anthonis Fernandes, demonstrates Mary's willingness to violate all laws and privileges of the territory and to directly oppose Charles himself in order to push her own agenda. Fernandes was a Portuguese New Christian merchant residing in the city of Antwerp, a member of the wealthiest group of traders operating in the Low Countries of the period. Charles had benefitted personally on more than one occasion from extensive loans proffered by members of the very community Mary targeted.

In 1533, Fernandes was traveling on business to Lyon when he was ambushed by a group of men on horseback, who took him prisoner, ostensibly by order of the queen-regent. These men held Fernandes for a couple of hours, after which another company of men arrived, claiming that Charles had instructed them to free Fernandes and transport him instead to Valenciennes. This apparent rescue was a foil, however, as the second group of horsemen had also been sent by Mary. They led Fernandes away and imprisoned him in the castle of Écaussines, where he remained for almost a year.[49] The magistrate of Antwerp later complained that Fernandes had twice been tortured during his detention and that they had not been informed of his plight on either occasion.[50] Mary refused to acquiesce to the city council's demands that she bring charges against Fernandes swiftly, as legal custom demanded. According to common practice in the province of Brabant, failure to indict Fernandes within three days of his arrest should have resulted in his release, yet he was held for almost six months before he was officially charged.[51]

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49 *AA*, vol. 7, 265–67, here 265, Magistrate to Charles V, [n.d.]. Details of the arrest are also contained in a letter to Mary of Hungary. In this letter, the author notes that Fernandes's captors "geseyt dairaff last te hebbene van Uwer Majesteyt," indicating that Mary ordered the illegal arrest (*AA*, vol. 7, 334–39. Magistrate to the queen, 2 September 1535).

50 "Fernandis is aldus buyten lants soe lange gevangen gehouden geweest ende is geleet geweest tot II reysen opte banck ende torture, sonder recht oft justicie … sonder byzyn oft wetene vanden Officier ende justicie vander stadt." *AA*, vol. 7, 337, Magistrate of Antwerp to the queen (2 September 1535).

51 "den gemeynen lantrechte van Brabant, nae denwelcken een officier, die eenen persoen gevangen heeft, m oet den gevangene, bynnen den derden daige nae de gevanckenisse, voer recht presenteren ende hem doen ticht ende aensprake, opte pene vanden gevangene dairnae byden rechters vande steden oft plaetsen dair onder hy behoirt, los ende vry ontslagen te worddene." *AA*, vol. 7, 334–39, here 334. Magistrate of Antwerp to the queen, 2 September 1535. Were Fernandes to have been held on a civil charge, the law of the

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Ambush and feigned rescue were not legitimate forms of legal action in sixteenth-century Brabant. Nor was it legally permissible for a resident of Antwerp to be held, tortured, and tried outside the city without the permission of city officials. The dishonorable circumstances of his arrest and his lengthy detention by Mary's officials caused great consternation among the Antwerp authorities. His treatment raised considerable alarm among the foreign merchant community as well. Some of them even took to the streets to voice their anger, causing what one city official described as a "great uproar" throughout the town.[52] Rather than yield to the vocal opposition of her subjects and city rulers, Mary escalated the investigation, sending Christiaen Baers, secretary of the Council of Brabant, to depose witnesses and, more importantly, to seize Fernandes's records, even demanding that the Antwerp officials aid him in his work.[53] Fernandes's arrest was clearly a violation of protocol and due process. It was equally an act of jurisdictional genius on the part of the queen. For, because Mary's men arrested and held him outside the boundaries of Antwerp, the city had no legal jurisdiction over his trial, and the queen was free to act outside of their control.[54]

In her extreme handling of this trial, Mary not only infuriated the rulers and merchants of Antwerp, but also directly contravened the wishes of the emperor. Charles, who was deeply interested in the mercantile health of his wealthiest city, had commanded Mary in November 1532, to discontinue any cases pending against merchants of the Portuguese nation, and to refrain from

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duchy dictated that he be released pursuant to the payment of a set amount of bail. See *AA*, vol. 7, 263–64. Magistrate to Charles V, n.d.

52 In a draft of a letter to the imperial officials in Brussels, the magistrate explains that the merchants voiced their complaints "niet alleene opter stadthuys, ende elders opten straeten." See *AA*, vol. 7, 288–90, here 289. On the uproar, see, among others, the notes of Adriaan Herbouts, 1534. *AA*, vol. 7, 260–61. See also the 1534 request of the magistrate to Charles V describing the "tumult and rumors" that circulated among them, *AA*, vol. 7, 263–64.

53 In her letter of commission to Baers, Mary wrote that he "sal Uluyden doet openinge doen vanden contooren ende secreten plaetsen des voers. Anthonis ende dat gedaen, neempt ende aenveerdt in uwen handen de vors. Boecken, registeren, memorialen ende brieven, omme vanden selven te neemene ende te behoudene, soe verre des noot zy, alsulcken visie, lecture oft copie als behooren sal ende ghy bevinden sult van noode weesende ten oerboore ende prouffyte vander saecken ende appendentien derselver." *AA*, vol. 7, 270–72, here 271, letter of commission of Christiaen Baers (14 January 1534). For the demand for aid, see the queen to the magistrate of Antwerp, *AA*, vol. 7, 272–73 (14 January 1534).

54 *AA*, vol. 7, 268–69. This point is noted in a letter of advice sent by the Antwerp lawyer, Jaspar Stynen, to the city pensionary Adriaan Herbouts, 13 December 1533.

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initiating new ones.[55] Mary's highly irregular arrest of Fernandes came in December 1533, just over one year later. In ordering his arrest, therefore, the queen flagrantly disregarded Charles's commands. Finally, in 1537, Charles again wrote to Mary, demanding that the Portuguese New Christians be allowed to operate freely, and "be treated as if they are our own burghers and inhabitants of the said city of Antwerp."[56] This meant that they could no longer be spirited away by a mid-journey ambush, held without charge, or removed from their city of residence for questioning elsewhere.

In the case of Fernandes, Charles's pointed intervention achieved its main objective. The trial was abandoned and the legal record confirms that no new trials were initiated for several years thereafter.[57] In this instance, Mary did not win the battle she waged against her brother. Nevertheless, she fought strategically and with determination. These were skills she brought to all areas of her reign, no matter how exhausted and bitter her defeats left her.

5 Conclusion

Contrary to her assertions in her letter of resignation, Mary was a failure in no aspect of her reign. The power dynamic between her and Charles V was such that there were many battles that she was destined to lose when she directly opposed her imperial brother. An examination of her actions as queen-regent, however, reveals her to have been, without question, a strong and independent leader. She possessed a strategic mind and resolute determination in pursuing her own agenda. Often that agenda lined up perfectly with that of her Habsburg siblings, but at times it did not. In those situations, Mary did not shy away from confrontation. Rather, she pressed her cause even when it brought

55 "A ceste cause, Madame, Ma bonne Seur, désirant les affaires, négociations et choses du dit Seigneur Roy, Mon Beau-Frère, ensemble ses facteurs et négociateurs et tout ce que concerne son dit royaulme et ses subgectz, estre repectez, traictez, pourtez et favorizeez en Mes dits pays, comme les Miens propres, pour considération de l'alience et amyté d'entre Nous et Nos Maisons." *AA*, vol. 7, 251–52, Charles V to the queen (27 November 1532).

56 "Nous leur avons consenty et accorde / que a la cause dicte ilz ne seont tirez ou attraiz ne amenez / prisonniers ou autrement travaillez en corps ne en biens hors d'icelle / notre ville d'Anvers ne d'autres villes et lieux de notres pays de pardeca … Et que ausurplus les dicts / supplians soient en ce traictez comme noz propres bourgoiz et habitans / de la dicte ville d'Anvers." Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussels, *Papieren van Staat en Audiëntie*, 1417/15, doc. 2, fol. 2, letter of the emperor (27 February 1537).

57 Victoria Christman, "Orthodoxy and Opposition: The Creation of a Secular Inquisition in Early Modern Brabant" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 2005), 190–93.

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her into direct conflict with them. Her harsh self-assessment must therefore be read as the result of her extreme frustration at the many situations in which she was overruled, and as a calculated effort to use culturally accepted beliefs about the weakness of her gender to support her arguments for retirement. It cannot be interpreted as evidence of inability or failure. Indeed, employing such rhetorical strategies only affirms the claim that Mary was a shrewd negotiator. Despite the fact that she had to consistently fight to assert her authority, Mary's short time as regent in Hungary and her long service in the same role in the Netherlands proved her to be a dedicated, determined, and highly able political actor.

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PART 4

Culture in Motion: Emotion, Space, and Gender

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CHAPTER 11

Compassion in Punishment: The Visual Evidence in Sixteenth-Century Depictions of Calvary

Charles Zika

As Susan Karant-Nunn clearly demonstrated in her 2010 book, *The Reformation of Feeling*, compassion became one of the dominant emotional scripts for Christian life between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] It was compassion for Christ in his Passion, or for his mother in her overwhelming grief and compassion for her son's suffering, that were meant to model Christian behavior and practice. This compassionate devotion to the suffering Christ and his mother was not a new phenomenon in the fifteenth century. As Sarah McNamer has shown, compassion for the suffering Christ and its ritualized performance by Christians became central to a new affectively focused devotion and literature by the thirteenth century.[2] Compassion also began to make a strong mark on visual media from the fourteenth century, evident in the Pietà images which multiplied during this time, depicting the sorrowing Virgin as she holds the dead body of her son on her lap, or has him lying at her feet as she is overcome by a mixture of grief, compassion, and love. From the second quarter of the fifteenth century, this complex emotional outpouring was given powerful material and visual form in the tears that rolled down the cheeks of the Virgin, John, the holy women, and even angels at scenes of the *Crucifixion* or *Deposition of Christ from the Cross*.[3] One important aspect of Karant-Nunn's work was to show how this compassionate devotion, with its focus on somatic and emotional feeling as in the pouring out of tears, remained integral to religious devotion through the Reformation years and well into the seventeenth

1 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (New York: 2010). I offer this small token of appreciation to Susan, an extremely generous scholar who has done so much to establish a cultural history of the German Reformation over her long career. Thanks to Jenny Smith and Julie Davies for their assistance with this article, funded through the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions 1100–1800 (CE110001011).

2 Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: 2010).

3 Charles Zika, "The Cruelty of Witchcraft: The Drawings of Jacques de Gheyn the Younger," in *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*, eds. Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (London: 2016), 37–56, here 48–51.

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century, not only in Catholic devotional writings, but also in those of Lutherans and even Calvinists.[4]

My aim in this chapter is to build on such insights into the importance of compassion in late medieval and early modern Europe by exploring its influence in the changing regulations concerning capital punishment and, in particular, a concern for the spiritual welfare of those condemned to death. From the fourteenth century there is a gradual change in attitude towards convicted criminals in order to facilitate their "good death." It is a change well documented in recent histories of judicial punishment, changes Esther Cohen has called "the first glimmerings of the re-humanization of criminals."[5] My aim is to explore the visual evidence of this change through images of contemporary execution, and of the archetypal event considered the model for any Christian condemned to death, the crucifixion of Christ on Calvary. Representations of the crucifixion increasingly took on some of the key characteristics of contemporary executions in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Calvary was depicted as an execution site with gallows, wheels, and crosses, and the death of Christ together with the two thieves, as well as the procession of the condemned to Calvary, was attended by large numbers of onlookers, including children, families, and animals. My contention is that we can also discern echoes of the call for greater compassion for the condemned in the treatment of the two thieves in many of these images, sentiments that were increasingly demanded and legislated in judicial manuals.[6]

Given that executions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were brutal acts of violence exacted on the bodies of the condemned by executioners and their assistants in the name of governing authorities, and that they frequently

4 Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling*.

5 Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden: 1993), 196. Also see Uwe Israel, "Hinrichtung in spätmittelalterlichen Städten: Öffentlichkeit, Ritual, Kritik," in *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l'Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Jacques Chiffoleau, Claude Gauvard, and Andrea Zorzi (Rome: 2007), 661–87; Paul D. Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done: The Age of Spectacular Capital Punishment in France* (Oxford: 2012).

6 Only well after submission of this chapter did I become aware of the significant publications on this subject by the art historian, Achim Timmerman, that consider some of the issues and material in this chapter. It is unfortunately too late to incorporate them. The most important for this subject are: Achim Timmerman, *Memory and Redemption: Public Monuments and the Making of Late Medieval Landscape* (Turnhout: 2017), 145–68, 207–09; Achim Timmerman, "Golgotha Now and Then: Image and Sacrificial Topography in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Räume der Passion: Raumvisionen, Erinnerungsorte und Topographien des Leidens Christi in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Hans Aurenhammer and Daniela Bohde (Bern: 2015), 151–78; Achim Timmerman, "'Locus calvariae': Walking and Hanging with Christ and the Good Thief, c. 1350–c. 1700," *Artibus et Historiae* 35 (2014): 137–61.

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also included ritual humiliations such as the ripping of flesh with red-hot pincers and the cutting off of body parts, the notion of increasing compassion for the condemned demands some explanation.[7] Modern understandings of compassion conceive of it as "a state of concern for the suffering or unmet need of another."[8] So much so good. But the second half of the definition, "coupled with a desire to alleviate that suffering," certainly does not apply to pre-eighteenth-century concepts and experiences of compassion. It is a form of fellow-feeling involving pity, compassion, and charity, yet the religious ideals upon which it is based are not directed to lessen or remove suffering, but to transcend it by transforming its meanings, purpose and outcomes. Those condemned to death were encouraged to immerse themselves in their suffering, to see it as penance, a sharing in the suffering of Christ and his mother, and ultimately a doorway to eternal salvation. The recent study by Katherine Ibbet on the limits of fellow-feeling in seventeenth-century France, what she calls "compassion's edge," provides us with useful ways of conceptualizing the differences with more recent notions of compassion as universal and humanitarian.[9] In earlier forms of compassion, fear is often present, the fear of experiencing such suffering oneself and then requiring compassion. Compassion also reinforces divides; it discriminates between the deserving and undeserving. Compassion is deserved by those who perform a good death at execution; it is not merited by those who do not. Compassion in punishment is compassion for, and fear for, the souls of the condemned, not for their bodies.

The first critical step in establishing some compassion for those condemned to death was the decree of Pope Clement V in 1312, forbidding the denial of requests for confession to a priest before execution. Traditionally, execution represented a permanent expulsion from the community, and the exposing of the criminal body and dumping of bones under the gallows instead of providing Christian burial demonstrated that the expulsion from the Christian community included both body and soul.[10] The right to confess, and thereby be reintegrated into the spiritual community, went hand in hand with demands for Christian burial. Condemned clerics were often granted confession, but it

7 Richard van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Elisabeth Neu (Cambridge, MA: 1990).

8 Jennifer L. Goetz and Emiliana Simon-Thomas, "The Landscape of Compassion: Definitions and Scientific Approaches," in *The Oxford Handbook of Compassion Science*, Part I (Introduction), eds. Emma M. Seppälä et al. (Oxford: 2017), 3–15, here 3. Also see Paul Gilbert, *Compassion: Concepts, Research and Applications* (New York: 2017), 3–15.

9 Katherine Ibbet, *Compassion's Edge: Fellow-Feeling and its Limits in Early Modern France* (Philadelphia: 2018), 1–28.

10 Cohen, *Crossroads*, 195–99.

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was not until the strong advocacy of the French theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson, around the turn of the fifteenth century, that the practice of confession became widespread. Following an unsuccessful petition by the knight Philippe de Mézières to King Charles V of France to offer the sacraments to those condemned to death, Gerson claimed in his subsequent petition to Charles VI that it was clearly a sin to deny confession before execution, just as it was a sin to deny baptism to those about to die. To deny confession was nothing short of heretical, he argued, a "great harshness and cruelty," for it added to the affliction of punishment the despair that brings damnation and casts doubt on whether Christ died to save "such poor Christians, our brothers" as much as any others.[11]

In response to Gerson, Charles VI issued a royal ordinance in February 1396, mandating confession for all those condemned to death, "even in cases in which [the condemned] are so overcome with sadness or emotion, that they do not know that they want [confession] or ask for it."[12] This placed considerable pressure on the authorities to facilitate the good death and salvation of the condemned. It led to the erection of stone crosses near gallows in various French cities (such as near the Paris gallows at Montfaucon), at which the confessions of those to be executed would be heard. Confessors—in Paris, usually a doctor from the Sorbonne—became the spiritual counselors of the condemned, joining them in prayers and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the prison chapel, and then accompanying them to the place of execution while holding crosses before their eyes or placing them between their hands in order to ensure their good Christian death.[13] The introduction of confession as part of the execution ritual led to the so-called punishment or fine of honor (*amende honorable*) in crimes attacking divine, royal, or public honor. In an act of public humiliation, the condemned would repent of their crime and beg public forgiveness of God, the king, and justice at the door of a

11 For the above, see Jean Gerson, *Œuvres completes*, Vol. 7: *L'œuvre française*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: 1961), 341–42. Also Esther Cohen, "'To Die a Criminal for the Public Good': The Execution Ritual in Late Medieval Paris," in *Law, Custom and the Social Fabric* in *Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bruce Lyon*, eds. Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas (Kalamazoo: 1990), 285–304, here 293–97; Adriano Prosperi, "Consolation or Condemnation: The Debates on Withholding Sacraments from Prisoners," in *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Kirksville, MO: 2008), 98–117, here 111; Cohen, *Crossroads*, 199.

12 "Loi ou Constitution portant que les condamnés pourront être confessés avant l'exécution, Paris, 12 February 1396," in *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, vol. 6: *1380–1400*, eds. François-André Isambert, Decrusy, and Athanase Jean Léger Jourdan (Paris: 1824), 775–76, here 776. The translation is from Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 89.

13 Cohen, *Crossroads*, 199; Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 101–104.

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church (in Paris, commonly Notre Dame) or the scene of the crime, barefoot and bareheaded, naked except for a shirt, on their knees with a rope around their neck, while holding a large wax candle.[14] Executions clearly became more religious in nature, as well as rituals of reconciliation and re-integration.

We can see a similar development in German-speaking territories. The *Bamberg Criminal Code*, first published in 1507, prescribed that immediately after sentence the condemned should be allowed to confess and be given counsel by one or two priests. Moreover, these priests should be available to hold a crucifix before the condemned whenever they are brought before the court, and when they walk in procession or are dragged to the place of execution.[15] One of the illustrations in this work (Fig. 11.1) shows a condemned man being led out of the city gate to his death, his hands tied behind his back and flanked by the executioner on one side and a friar holding up and pointing to a large crucifix on the other. The text above the procession reads: "If you bear your suffering patiently, this will be to your good; so give yourself to it willingly." The *Bamberg Criminal Code* was extremely influential, going into seven different editions by 1543. It also served as a model for the 1516 criminal code of Brandenburg-Ansbach and as a basis for the 1532 reformed imperial code of Charles V, the *Constitutio Criminalis*. All these works contained the same requirements for the hearing of confession, and for one or two priests to accompany the condemned to their death, while keeping their eyes and minds trained on the suffering and death of Christ.[16] While the Brandenburg code does not include an image of the ministering friar, the *Constitutio Criminalis* does, in a title page woodcut that depicts a procession to the place of execution.[17]

The role clerics had in ministering at executions is very clearly depicted in the execution of a wine thief (Fig. 11.2) in the 1504 *Salbuch* from the Franconian city of Volkach.[18] At an execution site labeled "the place of Calvary" ("*locus calvarie*"), a priest hearing the confession ("*confessor*") of the condemned ("*reus*") is shown before an execution by hanging. The priest then accompanies the condemned to the gallows, holding up a crucifix in front of him before he is

14 Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 93–97.

15 Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg, *Bambergische halszgerichts ordenung* (Bamberg: 1507), fol. 34v, in *Sammelband der wichtigsten Strafgesetzbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts: Bambergensis 1507, Brandenburgensis 1516, Carolina 1533* (Goldbach: 1999).

16 See *Sammelband*, fol. 26r (*Brandenburgensis*) and fol. 22r (*Carolina*).

17 *Sammelband*, fol. ir.

18 Wolfgang Schild, *Die Halsgerichtsordnung der Stadt Volkach aus 1504* (Rothenburg ob der Tauber, [*c.*1997]), 5–6, 36–38. The *Salbuch* was a medieval registry of land ownership, taxation and services. The Volkach *Salbuch* also included detailed descriptions and illustrations of criminal court procedures and punishments.

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FIGURE 11.1 Fritz Hamer and Albrecht Rodner, after Wolfgang Katzheimer the Elder, *The condemned exits the city gate and is led to the place of execution, while a friar holds up before him a cross showing Christ crucified*, woodcut, in Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg, *Bambergische halszgerichts ordenung* (Bamberg: 1507), fol. 34r, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, 22/75.1775

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FIGURE 11.2 *The execution of a wine thief*, colored pen and ink drawing, in Volkacher Salbuch (1504), fol. 401r, Stadtarchiv Volkach, Hs. B 2

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surrendered to the executioner. In the lower register, the judge and his two assistants are mounted on horses, a crowd of what seem to be peasant onlookers arrive, and so too a group of armed soldiers and representatives of the authorities, described in an earlier text as "similar to the representatives of the Jews around Our Lord God."[19] This execution does indeed take on many of the characteristic features of contemporary depictions of a Christian Way of the Cross. According to Ludovic Viallet, such allusions to the Passion in late fifteenth-century representations should be understood in the context of the move, in particular by Franciscans, to sacralize urban space.[20]

Ministering to the condemned by a friar or other cleric before execution, usually by holding up a crucifix, is frequently represented in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century images. The *Bamberg Criminal Code* includes a prominent example, in which a friar with a crucifix stands beside the condemned, with vest pulled down and shoulders bared, ready for the sword of the executioner, which is already drawn from its scabbard.[21] A very similar image is found as part of a large double-page woodcut depicting different forms of capital punishment, first published in 1509 in *The Layman's Guide*, a very popular German law manual compiled by the Augsburg city secretary, Ulrich Tengler.[22] The work, and this print, would have enjoyed widespread circulation by virtue of its re-publication in numerous editions under the title *The New Layman's Guide*, a version of Tengler's work revised by his son, Christoph, and first published in 1511.[23] Diebold Schilling, the Lucerne chancellor and, from 1460, a Berne city scribe, included a similar ministering cleric in the many scenes of execution found in his various chronicles. In his *Spiezer Chronicle* of 1483, for instance, a criminal is about to have his bones broken by the wheel and is offered the figure of the crucified Christ.[24] Schilling's drawing (Fig. 11.3) in his

19 Schild, *Die Halsgerichtsordnung*, 34, 29 (the drawing from the *Salbuch*, fol. 396r).

20 Ludovic Viallet, "Des mendiants après les mendicants," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen Âge* 124, no. 1 (2012): 221–34.

21 Schwarzenberg, *Bambergische halszgerichts ordenung*, fol. 35v. For the image, see https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Bambergische_Peinliche_Halsgerichtsordnung#/media/File:Bamebergensis_35v.jpg, accessed 26 June 2020.

22 *Various forms of capital punishment*, woodcut, in Ulrich Tengler, *Layen Spiegel, Von rechtmässigen ordnungen in Burgerlichen und peinlichen regimenten* (Augsburg: 1509), fol. V4r–V5r (https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00002001/image_304). See also Ulrich Tengler, *Laijen Spiegel: Von rechtmässigen ordnungen in Burgerlichen vnd peinlichen regimenten* (Strasbourg: 1510), 182 (https://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/tengler1510/0182).

23 Ulrich Tengler, *Der neü Layenspiegel* (Augsburg: 1511).

24 Diebold Schilling, *Spiezer Chronik* (1483), fol. 220 (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Mss.h.h.I.16; https://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bbb/Mss-hh-I0016/220/0/Sequence-50). For two similar images from the *Luzerner Chronik* (1509–13) of Diebold Schilling the Younger, see Mitchell B.

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FIGURE 11.3 *Mass execution in May 1444 of 72 Zurich occupiers of Greifensee by the Swiss confederacy during the Old Zurich War*, colored pen and ink drawing, in Diebold Schilling, *Amtlicher Bern Chronik* (Bern: 1483), fol. 106r, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Vol. 2, Mss.h.h.I.2, p. 211

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1483 *Berne Chronicle* of the mass execution in 1444 by the Swiss Confederacy of the 72 Zurich occupiers of Greifensee during the Old Zurich War, provides an interesting variation. Standing in the midst of human heads and decapitated bodies, a friar holds out to the leader of the condemned Zurich forces, Wildhans von Breitenlandenberg, just at the moment he is about to join the bodies of his dead compatriots, a rosary as well as a crucifix. The suggestion here would be that the condemned is being encouraged not only to look and attend to the figure of the crucified Christ, but also to prayer—to draw on the rhythm and repetition of prayer, as well as his sense of sight, in order to focus his attention more strongly on Christ's suffering at this critical moment of death.

A depiction of imminent execution (Fig. 11.4) in the 1508 Mainz edition of the *Bamberg Criminal Code* represents another fifteenth-century innovation in the spiritual comfort and compassion shown towards the condemned before their execution.[25] Here the friar has his mouth open, is on his knees and points to the cross in his right hand. The artist suggests he is in prayer, possibly joined in prayer with the condemned, blindfolded and also on his knees, as the executioner grasps him by the shoulder. Suspended from the friar's left arm by a ribbon of some kind, is a round flat container, almost certainly either a pyx or a leather container for a pyx, the vessel used by the Church to hold hosts and, in this flat form with a string (for hanging from the arm or around the neck), to carry consecrated hosts to the sick in order to administer communion.[26] The condemned has clearly been offered communion, a practice that only became widespread in the final decades of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century. In 1434 the Council of Constance decided to allow the sacrament to be offered to anyone facing execution who requested it, following a request by two condemned fraudsters for precisely that.[27] In Strasbourg, however, it was not until 1485 that the influential Strasbourg cathedral preacher, Geiler of Kaysersberg, was finally able to persuade the Strasbourg Council to

Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (London: 1999), figs. 45, 46.

25 Three other 1508 editions are listed in VD16.

26 For some examples of such pyxes, see two fifteenth-century Spanish and Italian examples: London: Victoria and Albert Museum M.219–1956 and W.157–1910. See also Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Hildesheim: 1973), 282–83, 291–347.

27 Peter Schuster, "Le rituel de la peine capitale dans les villes allemandes à la fin du Moyen Âge: Ruptures et continuités," in *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l'Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Jacques Chiffoleau, Claude Gauvard, and Andrea Zorzi (Rome: 2007), 689–712, here 702–703 (paragraph 18 online: https://books.openedition.org/efr/1851, accessed 26 June 2020).

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Wem trew straff nit bringet frücht
Der kumpt dick in des meysters zücht
Des werck vnd zeug wirt hie anzeygt
Wol dem der sich zů tugent neygt

FIGURE 11.4 *A friar ministers to the condemned with a cross and communion at an execution site*, woodcut, in Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Bambergische halszgerichts Ordenung* (Mainz: 1508), fol. 25v, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, 22/75.1775

grant communion to criminals about to be executed.[28] Basing his opinion on the advice of the Faculties of Theology and Canon Law at the University of Heidelberg, as well as that of his friend and canon of Saint Pierre le Jeune, the politically well-connected Peter Schott, Geiler argued that secular authorities

28 For Geiler's interventions described below, see especially Léon Dacheux, *Un réformateur catholique à la fin du XV^e siècle: Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg prédicateur à la cathedrale de Strasbourg 1478–1510. Étude sur sa vie et son temps* (Paris: 1876), 45–49; Cohen, *Crossroads*, 200.

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only had the right to punish the bodies of criminals, not their souls, for that would deny them salvation. They were not only to be *shown* the consecrated host by a priest in a ritual held at one of two chapels on the way to the place of execution; they were to be offered it in communion.

In Paris, however, in an early sixteenth-century ceremony held in a chapel on the execution route of Rue Saint-Denis and administered by a reformed community of nuns called the Daughters of God (Filles-Dieu), the condemned was given a crucifix to carry and kiss, sprinkled with holy water, and then offered blessed wine and bread. This was not communion, however; the condemned was not offered a consecrated host.[29] While the Paris ceremony indicated some reconciliation between the condemned and the Christian community, it did not offer the spiritual union with Christ and community or the assistance of divine grace and fortitude, which inevitably flowed from the reception of communion. The breakthrough by Geiler and Schott in Strasbourg, on the other hand, was a clear demonstration that those soon to be executed had now been fully integrated into the Christian body through the reception of the Sacrament and, despite their past sins, were soon to achieve eternal salvation. Offering communion to the condemned would provide them with "great consolation and assistance," argued Geiler, as well as bring glory to God, and honor and praise to the Council.[30] Two or three priests were appointed to hear the confession of the condemned individual and to offer communion, if the condemned was found worthy. Moreover, instead of the previous timetable that stipulated judgments were to be passed on Thursdays followed by executions on Fridays, judgments were now scheduled for Tuesdays, followed by confessions on the same day, communion on Wednesdays, and executions on Fridays.[31]

This compassion for the soul of the condemned continued in German states after the Reformation was adopted.[32] In Nuremberg, communion at the execution site had become routine by the late sixteenth century. The most frequent visitors to the cell of the condemned were the two prison chaplains, who later flanked the criminal on the one kilometer walk to the gallows.[33] Beneath the

29 Cohen, *Crossroads*, 200–201; *Illustrations de Les Rues de Paris ancien et moderne 358–1843* (Paris: 1843), 248. For similar offerings of bread and wine in other locations, also see Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 102, 302n32.

30 See the extract from Geiler's 1483 letter to the then Ammeister of Strasbourg, Mattern Trachenfels, in Dacheux, *Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg*, 48n2.

31 Dacheux, *Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg*, 45–49.

32 See Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany* (New York: 1999), 172–85; Joel Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner: Life and Death, Honor and Shame in the Turbulent Sixteenth Century* (New York: 2013), xiii–xxiv.

33 Franz Schmidt, *The Executioner's Journal*, trans. Joel Harrington (Charlottesville: 2016), xxxviii, xli; Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner*, xiv–xv. Also see Richard Evans, *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600–1987* (Oxford: 1996), 72, 76–83.

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gallows, on a raised platform called the Raven Stone, the convicted criminal would make a public confession and ask for forgiveness while the chaplain stood by to offer consolation and prayer, holding up a cross or crucifix before the condemned as well as offering communion. Some, such as Catholics, simply refused the Sacrament, while others, who demonstrated a clear lack of willingness to repent, were not offered it.[34] In Augsburg, the condemned "poor sinner" was moved to a clean cell after judgment, where two "comfort men" were locked in with him to keep him company for the three days leading to his execution.[35] Pastors would visit to provide instruction, hear confession, grant absolution and offer communion. Catholics, and Jesuits in particular, promoted the cult of the good thief Dismas, who was crucified with Christ and achieved salvation, a figure well known from numerous contemporary manuals (Fig. 11.5) on how to die a good death.[36] On the day of execution, it was customary for the condemned to be accompanied by two chaplains in the procession to the execution site, where he would confess and ask for forgiveness, attended by the ministering chaplain.[37] The condemned was then commended, as a pastor in Celle put it in 1699, "into the faithful embrace of God's compassion."[38]

In Italy there was a similar development, if somewhat earlier and in a different form. Comforting those condemned to death (*affliti*, the "suffering") was largely the work of laity, who were members of confraternities called *conforterie* (companies of justice).[39] The earliest was founded in Bologna in 1343, from where *conforterie* spread to cities such as Florence, Rome and Naples. The Bologna *conforteria* was part of the larger Confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte, which engaged in various charitable activities in the city and organized processions at times of celebration, crisis and thanksgiving. The comforting of the condemned was carried out by lay members of the *conforteria*, whom we

34 Schmidt, *The Executioner's Journal*, xlii–xliii, 76, 83, 90; Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner*, 183–84.

35 Stuart, *Defiled Trades*, 175–82.

36 Stuart, *Defiled Trades*, 175–76; Merback, *The Thief*, 144–47, 218–24.

37 Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner*, xiii–xiv; Evans, *Rituals of Retribution*, 72, 76–83.

38 Evans, *Rituals of Retribution*, 80.

39 Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: 1989), 217–23; Nicholas Terpstra, "Piety and Punishment: The Lay *Conforteria* and Civic Justice in Sixteenth-Century Bologna," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991): 679–94; Nicholas Terpstra, "The Other Side of the Scaffold," in Terpstra, *The Art of Executing Well*, 1–9; Nicholas Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting, and Comforters in Renaissance Italy," in Nicholas Terpstra, *The Art of Executing Well*, 98–117. For a Roman *conforteria*, Samuel Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca: 1985), 165–221; Jean Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia: The Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome* (Ann Arbor: 1984).

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FIGURE 11.5 *A dying man attended by Mary Magdalene, Saint Peter, and an angel, as well as the example of Dismas and St Paul*, woodcut in *Ars Moriendi* (Germany: 1466), Library of Congress, Washington D.C., Incun. x. A874 (Rosenwald Coll)

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see in the frontispiece illumination (Fig. 11.6) from the confraternity's statute book, protected by the blue mantle of the Madonna of Mercy in the foreground and leading a procession in honor of the Madonna di San Luca, of whose shrine outside Bologna they were custodians, in the background.[40] They are clothed in white habits, fully hooded with openings only for the eyes (with some hoods pulled back to reveal faces), as was common among flagellant or penitential brotherhoods. The *conforteria* even produced manuals that outlined how comforters were to act towards the condemned in order to provide them with consolation in their cells, to ensure they accepted their punishment, reconciled with church and society, died a good death and ultimately achieved salvation. They used prayers, read biblical texts, offered the sacraments, sang *laude*, and used images called *tavolette*, small panel paintings that we see two comforters holding in Fig. 11.6, most commonly depicting the crucifixion, Mary, or holy martyrs, which would be kept before the eyes of the condemned right up to the moment of their execution.[41]

A 1562 Bologna manual begins by specifying guidelines for the comforter: "First, that those doing this work must put their heart in it and act only out of love for God, and also out of charity for and the salvation of the neighbor." This is repeated in the opening third point: "you should go with great fear of God and with much compassion for your neighbor."[42] The detailed instructions consistently stress kindness, love, and compassion. When dealing with the young who do not wish to die, however, comforters are instructed "to avoid using pitiful words and compassion as much as you can," so as not to relieve them of pain.[43] The "compassion for your neighbor" needs to be directed to the salvation of the soul, not to the suffering of the body. The condemned must model their path to death on that of Christ and the holy Christian martyrs, accepting suffering and humiliation as they are led through the streets to the scaffold. Death is an opening into paradise; the condemned must pray for strength and constancy to go to death like their savior.[44]

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40 See Black, *Italian Confraternities*, frontispiece and 82; Massimo Ferretti, "In Your Face: Paintings for the Condemned in Renaissance Italy," in Terpstra, *The Art of Executing Well*, 79–97, here 82–83.

41 Nicholas Terpstra, "The Bologna *Comforters' Manual*," trans. Sheila Das, in Terpstra, *The Art of Executing Well*, 271–75. For *tavolette* more generally, Ferretti, "In Your Face"; Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 165–202; Larry J. Feinberg, "Imagination All Compact: Tavolette and Confraternity Rituals for the Condemned in Renaissance Italy," *Apollo* 159 (2005): 48–57.

42 "The Bologna *Comforters' Manual*," 193.

43 Ibid., 260.

44 Ibid., 201–202, 212–13.

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FIGURE 11.6 *Madonna of Mercy with Brothers of the Confraternity of S. Maria della Morte*, frontispiece illumination, in *Statuti della Compagnia dell'Ospedale della Morte* (1562), Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Ospedale, MS. 42, fol. 1r

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Mitchell Merback has written with great eloquence on compassion providing "the currency of collective emotional experience in the theatre of public punishments, where pain was spectacle."[45] This draws heavily on the way Christians, and not least those condemned to death, were encouraged to feel compassion for Christ's suffering and how the suffering bodies of the condemned could then take on "the aura and power of a salvific spectacle."[46] This allowed in turn a compassionate identification with such deaths, reinforcing the webs of association between contemporary execution and the Christian drama of Calvary. Alternately, Merback has shown how fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists focused on the emotional suffering of Calvary by representing it as a site of terrible brutality, shame, and disgraceful penal punishment. Calvary is increasingly figured as a theater of criminal justice, but the role of the comforter in the judicial focus on Calvary does not seem to have been explored in any detail, possibly because it is primarily evident in iconography related to the Way of the Cross.[47]

Depictions of the Way of the Cross that include the two thieves executed with Christ, Dismas and Gestas, are quite rare prior to the fourteenth century.[48] A small number are found in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries appearing in a wide range of media, including wall paintings, manuscript illuminations, stained glass, and panel paintings. The thieves are shown for the most part naked, wearing little more than briefs or a loose shift, their hands bound, usually behind their backs, the ropes (sometimes also around their necks as a halter) held by an accompanying soldier. They usually walk together in front of Christ and in a significant number of cases one or both are blindfolded. In a *c.*1445–60 painting by the Master of Laufen (Fig. 11.7) they are very prominent, shown with loose cloaks over their undershirts and conspicuously distinctive in their size. One is held by the executioner's assistant carrying the sponge and wine vinegar later offered to Christ and is pushed along by a phalanx of soldiers in front of Christ and the group of weeping women emerging from one of Jerusalem's gates. The differences between the two thieves in this

45 Merback, *The Thief*, 152.

46 Ibid., 150.

47 Under this term I include images of Christ carrying the cross, the judgment of Pilate that includes the beginning of the procession, the road or procession to Calvary, as well as its arrival at Calvary. My analysis below is based on approximately 80 such images which include the two thieves, created between 1360 and 1615.

48 These are their most common names. Others names include Dysmas, Dimas, Gismas, Gisinas, Titus, Matta, and Joathas, for the good thief, and Jesmas, Iesinas, Jasmus, Dumachus, Joca, and Maggatras, for the bad.

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FIGURE 11.7 Master of Laufen, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *c.*1445/1460, tempera on fir panel, 97 × 114 cm. Belvedere, Vienna, inv. 4918

case may well reflect a growing awareness of the quite distinct pre-history of the two thieves in the apocryphal gospels and other early texts.[49]

Representation of the thieves on the way to Calvary increases significantly from the mid-fifteenth century, as does their presence in panel paintings. In a radical departure from traditional depiction, a *c.*1490–1510 painting by Hieronymus Bosch (Fig. 11.8) shows the two thieves occupying almost the same space in the whole lower half of the painting as Christ's carrying of the cross in the upper. One thief is depicted on his knees, his open mouth a clear sign that he is engaged in desperate conversation with a friar, most likely having his confession heard, while held firmly by one of the executioner's assistants. The confession occurs beside a high tree trunk, similar to the crosses that were customarily erected for the hearing of confession on the path to execution. The other thief is held back by a figure in a large red cape, his grasp of the two pieces of rope that wind around the lunging body of the thief suggesting that

49 For a summary of their history, see Merback, *The Thief*, 22–27.

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FIGURE 11.8 Hieronymus Bosch, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *c.*1490–1510, oil on oak panel, 57 × 32 cm, KHM-Museumsverband, Vienna, Inv. Nr. Gemäldegalerie 6429

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he is responding to sudden aggression.[50] An emphasis on two kinds of criminal deaths would seem to be one of the painting's prominent themes in its inclusion of contemporary practices associated with execution. This differentiation between the thieves is strongly evident in the Ghent painting of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (*c*.1510).[51] The bad thief at bottom right is engaged in angry confrontation with three of his mocking tormentors, whereas the ashen-faced penitent thief with eyes half closed at top right simply absorbs the attacks of his pointing and snarling harasser in silence. Moreover, he is linked through the diagonal to the serene face of Christ, and to Christ's image imprinted on Veronica's veil at bottom left. These depictions of the thieves draw attention to the shame of the criminal death Christ suffered in order to redeem humankind. They also emphasize the need for those who have committed terrible crimes to be able to confess their sins and accept their punishment, as had the good thief.

Compassion for the souls of the thieves crucified on Calvary through the provision of comforting clergy is evident in the work of a significant number of Flemish and Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth century. In *The Procession to Calvary* created in 1500 by the Flemish artist, Master of the Prodigal Son, at least one of the thieves is accompanied by a figure with a large black cape, who is gesturing expansively as they walk ahead of a cart transporting the thieves' wooden crosses, and Christ falling under the weight of his cross.[52] The figure appears to be a cleric ministering to the thief as the procession moves towards Calvary, an execution site covered with gallows from which corpses hang and wheels on which bodies have been broken.

In at least three paintings of *The Way of the Cross* completed by the Brunswick Monogrammist or his workshop, now in Paris, Basel, and Amsterdam, similar figures accompany the thieves.[53] These paintings reflect the new interest in landscape and present the biblical events in an expansive scenario that allows for masses of actors as well as observers. The Basel painting of *c*.1530–35

50 Larry Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (New York: 2011), 20–23, pl. 10. Silver suggests he might represent an astrologer or magician.

51 For a copy of this painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent, see https://www.mskgent.be/en/featured-item/christ-carrying-cross-0, accessed 28 December 2019.

52 The present location is unknown. Documentation and a black and white photo is available in the Frick Art Reference Library: https://arcade.nyarc.org/record=b1130059~S1, accessed 10 July 2020.

53 Matthias Ubl, *Der Braunschweiger Monogrammist: Wegbereiter der niederländischen Genremalerei vor Bruegel* (Petersberg: 2014), 307–15, 365–69; and for the large number of mid-sixteenth-century artists with whom this anonymous Netherlandish painter has been identified, 33–71.

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combines a crucifixion scene with the carrying of the cross, wending its way from Jerusalem in the background up to the craggy rocks and crowds on Calvary.[54] Largely naked and with hands bound, the two thieves lead the procession, each flanked on one side by two soldiers and on the other by a cleric, whose posture and gestures communicate intense dialogue. The cleric accompanying the first thief is perhaps a Dominican, recognizable by his black and white habit and capuche. In the Paris painting, the procession of the cross, crowded with men, women, children and dogs, winds through the countryside up to a massed circle created by those awaiting the execution. The two clerics accompanying the naked thieves are immediately recognizable as friars, one a Franciscan in grey, the other a Dominican in black and white.[55] In the earlier Amsterdam painting (Fig. 11.9), the thieves are also accompanied by two friars, one with his head covered by a capuche, the other identifiable by his clerical tonsure.[56] Together with their various attendants, the thieves face the viewer to the far side of the figure of Christ being beaten as he collapses under the cross, and of the cart carrying the crosses on which they are to be executed (Fig. 11.10). One is completely naked, the other wears only briefs. This may be a pause on their route, where they focus on how to face imminent death. Both friars are ministering to them. The raised arm of one, as he presses close to the face of his charge, suggests he is making an urgent plea to remain focused on supernatural realities.

Clerical comforters are especially prominent in the paintings created in the 1530s by the Antwerp artist, Herri met de Bles. Bles painted the scene 18 times, depicting a large procession in a vast, fantastic landscape (over 300 figures in the Vienna version) that winds its way around a massive rocky mountain towards distant Calvary, where further masses can be seen awaiting its arrival. In most of the paintings the two thieves are visible from the back, walking out at the front of the procession, one or both accompanied by a cleric, in most instances a Dominican friar.[57]

54 Ibid., 18–19, 313–15, Tafel VI.

55 Ibid., 16–17, 307–12, Tafel V. Ubl dates this version *c.*1550–55 in contrast to the Louvre's dating of *c.*1535, largely on the basis of dendochronological analysis.

56 Ibid., 365–69.

57 For many examples, Michel Weemans, *Herri Met de Bles: les ruses du paysage au temps de Bruegel et d'Érasme* (Paris: 2013), 11–12 (two in Brussels), 20 (Namur version), 89 (Princeton), 206 (Vienna), 204 (St Gallen). See also Michel Weemans, "Herri met de Bles's *Way to Calvary*: A Silenic Landscape," *Art History* 32 (2009): 307–31; Walter Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth": The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton: 1989), 17–36; Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, 27–29, pl. 16, 17, 19. A Dominican is also tending to the thieves after the procession arrives at Calvary in a 1552 painting by Pieter Aertsen in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp: http://collectie.kmska.be/#/

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FIGURE 11.9 Brunswick Monogrammist Workshop, *Way of the Cross and Crucifixion*, *c.*1530–35, oil on panel, 32.5 × 46.5 cm, Amsterdam, Collection of the Stichting de Boer

FIGURE 11.10 Brunswick Monogrammist Workshop, *Way of the Cross and Crucifixion* (detail), *c.*1530–35, oil on panel, 32.5 × 46.5 cm, Amsterdam, Collection of the Stichting de Boer

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FIGURE 11.11 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Procession to Calvary* (detail), 1564, oil on oak panel, 124 × 170 cm, KHM-Museumsverband, Vienna, Inv. Nr. Gemäldegalerie 1025

From mid-century, however, the two thieves begin to appear in the Way of the Cross quite differently from the two previous centuries. They are now shown riding in a cart, commonly used to transport criminals to the place of execution during this period, especially if they were subjected to additional punishments on their way to execution, such as pinching with red-hot tongs.[58] Moreover, the two thieves are usually attended by clerics who are shown engaging with them in their final hours. A *Way of the Cross* of *c*.1550 by the Antwerp artist Cornelis Massijs would seem to be the earliest of such images, in which the clerical comforters are clearly friars.[59]

It is Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 1564 painting, *The Way to Calvary* (Fig. 11.11), however, that becomes the model for other artists to follow well into the seventeenth century.[60] Set in a vast landscape with a multitude of actors and

query/5ed6e414-f47b-4bcf-8fe4-a28eb25abb9f, accessed 26 June 2020); Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, 30–31, pl. 20.

58 Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 77–78, 168n36. For two of numerous examples, Merback, *The Thief*, figs. 64, 86.

59 Ubl, *Der Braunschweiger Monogrammist*, 43 (fig. 1.11).

60 See especially Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, 15–33, pl. 1–8.

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observers, Christ's carrying of the cross is just one of numerous events that make up the procession to the execution place on Calvary at top right. The ultimate end of this journey is clearly marked by the numerous wheels, gallows, and ravens along the path and on the horizon, as well as by the two crosses on which the thieves are to hang, just visible within the circle awaiting the execution. At the front of the procession, behind a red-coated soldier holding an unfurled standard and a figure in grey who seems to be a senior friar and theologian (modeled perhaps on an inquisitor in order to represent the high priest Caiaphas), is the cart transporting the two thieves. Beside each of the thieves sit friars, intensely engaged in comforting and guiding them, one a Franciscan in his grey habit, the other a Dominican or Augustinian. Both thieves hold crosses between their bound hands, one calm and seemingly resigned to his fate, the other pale with mouth agape in horror at what is to unfold.

Bruegel's extraordinary painting inspired many artists to create similar images of the Way of the Cross. Another Antwerp artist, Martin van Cleve, included just one of the thieves in a cart in his 1567 painting, *Christ on the Road to Calvary*, and shows him engaged by a bearded figure in white garb and large hat, possibly a Premonstratensian.[61] Peeter Balten's painting of the subject from the 1560s, strongly influenced by Bruegel, has both thieves in a cart, their hands bound behind their backs, each ministered to by friars whose gestures and open mouths communicate their intense involvement.[62] The 1591 *Way to Calvary* by Monogrammist DR, however, presents the thieves and their comforters as in Bruegel's painting, except that neither holds a cross and the thief in distress also has his arms tied to his body across his chest.[63] This would suggest that this artist understood the figure to be Gestas and the calmer thief, Dismas. Frans Francken the Younger depicts the thieves and their clerical comforters being transported in a cart to their execution, as does Bruegel's son, Pieter the Younger, in most of the 21 versions he or copyists created *c.*1599–1616.[64]

61 For the painting, see Klaus Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere (1564–1637/1638): Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog* (Lingen: 2000), vol. 1, 346, fig. 249; https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/old-master-paintings-n08952/lot.12.html?locale=en, Accessed 26 June 2020.

62 See http://www.wga.hu/framex-e.html?file=html/b/baltens/calvary.html&find=calvary, accessed 26 June 2020.

63 See https://www.mskgent.be/en/artists/monogrammist-dr, accessed 28 December 2019.

64 To see the Francken *Road to Calvary* held by De Jonckheere, see http://3r-prev.com/gdjmed/en/home/old-masters-collection/christ-on-the-road-to-calvary/, accessed 10 June 2020. For the Brueghel the Younger painting, see Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere*, 396–408. For the version in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, see Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze-Ertz, *Brueghel-Breughel* (Essen: 1997), 95–97. Also Larry Silver, "Through the Son: Pieter Brueghel the Younger's *Crucifixion*," in *Antipodean Early Modern: European*

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FIGURE 11.12 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Calvary, or Crucifixion*, 1615, oil on oak panel, 99.9 × 147 cm, Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth

Attention to the thieves was no doubt originally the outcome of a medieval Franciscan spirituality that encouraged devotees to focus on every step of Christ's passion in order to stress his humiliation and shame in being executed with common criminals, and to reflect on the fate of Dismas who, despite his sin, did not despair and became a saintly model for dying a good death.[65] The regular inclusion of clerical comforters in images of the Way of Calvary from the mid-fifteenth century reflects increasing contemporary concerns about the need to show compassion for the salvation of those condemned to death, despite the terrible punishments exacted on their bodies.

Pieter Brueghel the Younger introduces an even more surprising detail into one of his paintings that testifies to such concerns. *Calvary, or Crucifixion* (Fig. 11.12), signed and dated 1615 and 1617 in two of the eight extant versions confidently attributed to the artist, is a large-scale panoramic painting considered by most art historians to be a copy of a now lost painting of the late 1550s

Art in Australian Collections, c. 1200–1600, ed. Anne Dunlop (Amsterdam: 2018), 251–67, here 261–62.

65 Merback, *The Thief*, 223–35.

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or early 1560s by Pieter the Younger's father.[66] At least five of the attributed eight versions and three of the remaining thirteen versions of uncertain attribution include a largely unnoticed and seemingly unique detail—a completely hooded figure in the style of Italian flagellants or *confortatori*, who stands holding up a dark object under the cross of one of the thieves. Two other paintings by Jan Brueghel, the brother of Pieter the Younger, are also clearly modeled on Bruegel the Elder's lost painting and include a figure (who is not hooded) holding up a similar object to one of the crucified thieves (Fig. 11.13).[67]

One of the few references to this figure is by Peter Sutton in his account of the Philadelphia version, where he describes "a curiously cowled figure who holds up the tablets of the law," presumably on the basis of the object's double round-topped shape.[68] The object would indeed seem to represent the tables of the law as frequently represented, and this reading is supported by the object in Jan Bruegel's *c.*1610 Melbourne version, in which the similarity to stone tables of the law is pronounced, with each table featuring markings that strongly suggest textual inscription.[69] But what to make of the "curiously cowled figure"? Larry Silver has claimed, as have I, that this is most convincingly a comforter who has accompanied the thieves on their way to execution on Calvary.[70] But he is not a Franciscan or other cleric, as found in Flemish Ways of the Cross since the early sixteenth century. The flagellant's hood, which completely covers his head, marks him as a lay member of a *confor-teria*, as we see depicted in images of the Bologna Confraternity (Fig. 11.6). The tables of the law he holds up to one of the thieves would therefore represent a Jewish version of the *tavoletta*, to be kept before the eyes of the condemned

66 Silver, "Through the son"; Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, 260–61, pl. 219; Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere*, 38, fig. 292; Christina Currie and Dominique Allart, *The Brueg[H]el Phenomenon*, vol. 2 (Brussels: 2012), 614–44; Charles Zika, "Pieter Brueghel the Younger (c. 1564–1637/8), *Calvary* or *Crucifixion*," in *An Illumination: The Rothschild Prayer Book and Other Works from the Kerry Stokes Collection, c.1280–1685*, ed. Margaret Manion (Perth: 2015), 194–98. The two signed and dated paintings are in the Stokes collection—previously in the Copée-le Hodey collection—and in the Szépmüvészeti Museum, Budapest.

67 Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere*, vol. 1, 425–26, fig. 305 (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria), 426, fig. 306 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).

68 Peter C. Sutton, *Northern European Paintings in the Philadelphia Museum of Art: From the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: 1990), 44–45. See also Ruth Mellinkoff, "The Round-Topped Tablets of the Law: Sacred Symbol and Emblem of Evil," *Journal of Jewish Art* 1 (1974): 28–43.

69 For the Jan Brueghel image located in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, see https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3821/, accessed 26 June 2020.

70 Zika, "Pieter Brueghel the Younger," 198; Silver, "Through the Son," 259–60.

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FIGURE 11.13 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Calvary, or Crucifixion* (detail), 1615, oil on oak panel, 99.9 × 147 cm, Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth

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until death in order to help ensure their focus on supernatural realities and ultimate salvation.

Such a reading of the hooded figure fits well with the concerns of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists to present biblical narratives as living events in the present, a strategy most evident in Bruegel the Elder's *Way to Calvary* and in Brueghel the Younger's *Calvary* (Fig. 11.12), with their mix of contemporary and biblical costumes, Flemish peasants, quotidian activities, Roman soldiers, and gospel figures. Yet why this seemingly unique figure holding the tables of the law was inserted into this painting remains puzzling. Given that comforters who wore flagellant-like hoods did not seem to exist outside Italy during this period, and certainly not in Antwerp, and that Brueghel the Younger had never traveled to Italy, we can only conclude that this figure was copied from the original lost painting of Bruegel the Elder. For Bruegel the Elder did travel to Italy in 1552–54. He had possibly witnessed an execution with a comforter in Italy, and decided to include this contemporary element (and indeed many others) in traditional Calvary iconography. Moreover, the cult of the good thief Dismas was just beginning to take hold in Counter-Reformation devotion at this time. The woman looking up at the thief with outstretched arms in admiring wonder (Fig. 11.13)—also most unusual in Crucifixion scenes—suggests that the thief to whom the comforter was directing his energies was the good thief, even though he was not located on the traditional right side of Christ.[71] But what of the tables of the law as a *tavoletta*? Perhaps a *tavoletta* on Calvary with its traditional images of Christ crucified, the grieving Virgin, or martyr saints, was considered to have taken anachronism too far. So Bruegel opted for the Old Testament tables of the law as an appropriate alternative for a penitent Jewish thief, who nevertheless recognized Christ's divinity and was promised immediate salvation.[72]

•••

Sarah McNamer noted in 2010 that one of the greatest revolutions in feeling in Europe, the rise of compassionate devotion, has not been sufficiently

71 For an early engraving of the good thief as part of a series including Saints Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalen (as in the *Ars Moriendi* images—fig. 5), see Jacques De Gheyn II, after Karel van Mander, *The Good Murderer as Repentant Sinner*, 1595–96, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

72 I shall discuss the possibility of a "Jewish *tavoletta*," the reversed position of the two thieves, and the developing cult of Dismas in a forthcoming detailed study of this painting.

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recognized as a contribution to the history of emotion.[73] She could have justifiably extended that claim to consideration of compassion for the whole period between antiquity and the rise of humanitarian sensibility in the 18th century. Since then, her work and that of Karant-Nunn, Merback, and Ibbet, among others, has significantly changed our understanding of compassion's cultural meanings, impact, and expression. As Ibbet's fine study of the intellectual and religious discourse concerning compassion in the century following the French wars of religion has shown, compassion does not develop in any regular or linear fashion, even within a particular discursive domain and time-frame. It manifests itself quite differently across various social and cultural domains, as well as across time. There is, therefore, a need to collect and hopefully integrate its different manifestations.

This essay aims to make a small contribution to such a project: to collect and understand how changes to judicial punishment in western Europe between the fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries are variously referenced in visual documentation and imagery. Compassion in punishment was certainly appropriated in many cases to bolster the authority of the state by ensuring a "quiet death" as well as a "good death." It could be appropriated precisely because of the limits of this compassion, because compassion was not readily forthcoming to criminals who did not perform penitence, did not assume and measure their suffering in relation to Christ's in order to make themselves suitable (pitiful?) objects for the compassion of others. Appropriation of compassion by authorities however, does not automatically destroy its genuine transformative capacities.

An instructive example is provided by a painting of *The Road to Calvary* created by the Flemish artist, Frans Francken the Younger, in 1617.[74] Francken painted at least eight versions of the subject, but the Princeton painting differs radically from these and possibly from any work by earlier artists. As part of the large procession that makes its way up the craggy hill to Calvary, the central figure is Christ, struggling under the weight of the cross as Veronica approaches with her veil, offering to wipe the sweat from his face. At left there is another prominently displayed group—the two thieves and their two assistants. One of the thieves stands upright, his gaze already seemingly directed towards the heavens above. The other thief, his hands bound, is being refreshed with a drink. Given that the standing thief most likely represents Dismas, this

73 McNamer, *Affective Meditation* (see n. 4) 1–7.

74 For the Frans Francken the Younger, *Road to Calvary*, 1617, oil on wood panel, located in the Princeton University Art Museum, see https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/32169, accessed 26 June 2020.

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seated figure is Gestas. This depiction of the bad thief being refreshed is truly rare in the narrative of the Way of the Cross, as the compassion shown is no longer conditional on a penitential performance. Perhaps the visual rhetoric of compassion in such images, over the last century in particular, has suddenly, even if temporarily, achieved a breakthrough, and we have here a new visual transition point in the re-humanization of criminals.

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Jan Brueghel I (studio of), Calvary, *c.*1610, oil on copper, Inv. Nr. 94–5

Princeton University Art Museum

Frans Francken the Younger, Road to Calvary, 1617, oil on wood panel

Private Collections

Marten van Cleve I, Christ on the Road to Calvary, 1567

Peeter Baltens, Christ on the Road to Calvary, 1560s

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Jacques De Gheyn II, after Karel van Mander, *The Good Murderer as Repentant Sinner*, 1595–96

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Pieter Aertsen (Copy), Kruisdraging (Way of the Cross), Inv. Nr. 862

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CHAPTER 12

Above the Skin: Cloth and the Body's Boundary in Early Modern Nuremberg

Amy Newhouse

In Gen. 3:7, Adam and Eve lived in perfect relation to God, each other, and nature. When they partook of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, the first thing they noticed was that they were naked. Martin Luther suggests in a 1527 sermon that they covered themselves because they felt "the shameful lust in their bodies."[1] Perhaps the shame they felt was not lust; perhaps it was the first time that they experienced the reality of death, decay, and, theoretically, body odor. According to Luther, all human "flesh was leprous through sin."[2] Adam and Eve exchanged the garden for the layers of cloth expected in a communal world. If comportment was important for the metaphorically leprous flesh, then clothing carried even greater importance for those who suffered from diseased flesh. Diseased skin ruptured in ulcers, buboes, and tumors which were repulsive to sight and touch, but were, above all, foul smelling.[3] In 1526, humanist reformer Juan Luis Vives complained that the sick walked through cities with open ulcers that forced not only "upon the eyes but upon the nose as well, the mouth, and almost on the hands and the body as they pass through."[4] The inability of the sick to prevent their internal corruption from emanating to their neighbors' sensorial space is what necessitated layers of cloth above their skin.

In the past few decades, historians have recognized the influence of physical elements in shaping early modern political, social, and cultural life. In religious history, Susan Karant-Nunn argued, in *The Reformation of Ritual* (1997), that theology was ineffective as a disembodied abstraction of theologians; it retained efficacy only through the repetitive, physical actions of the bodies of

1 "Sermons on Genesis, 1527, WA 24 paragraph 94," quoted in Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, eds. and trans., *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: 2003), 22.

2 "Lectures on Genesis, 1535, LW 1," quoted in Karant-Nunn and Wiesner-Hanks, *Luther on Women*, 27.

3 John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven: 2006), 102, 109.

4 Juan Luis Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, trans. Alice Tobriner (Toronto: 2012), 36.

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the laity.[5] Recently, scholars have focused on the body's sensory experience and how its physical environments formed "sensory landscapes."[6] For early modern urban historians, this line of inquiry provided valuable insights into the complex relationship between the bodies of city dwellers and their civic space. As urban authorities and inhabitants responded to sensory information cast by human and non-human stimuli, they continually adapted the use of the city's landscape.[7] A city's history, built cityscapes, and civic and material culture emerged from constant negotiation with its physical environment.[8]

In the sixteenth century, the city council of the imperial city of Nuremberg confronted the environmental problem that disease presented to the city. The challenge was to keep the unhealthy odors of the city's leprosy, plague, and syphilis victims from violating the air of the city without withdrawing human care from those afflicted. Cloth provided a physically adaptive barrier against the worst of the sick's malodorous emanations and offered a temporary physical solution to a physical issue. This solution, however, proved to be problematic because the use of the fabrics created unintended consequences.[9] The absorbent, transferable, and portable material properties of cloth meant that unsuspecting or malicious city inhabitants disseminated the corruption of the diseased bodies as they used, washed, and traded contaminated fabrics within the city. As the population swelled and exacerbated dangerous smells throughout the century, Nuremberg's beleaguered authorities increasingly used their physical resource of city space to allocate certain areas to handle the hazardous items and secure them under the care of appointed personnel.[10] Nuremberg authorities' intensifying physical strategies to confine the smell of

5 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: 1997), 191.

6 Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, UK: 2011), 163. See also Jacob M. Baum, "From Incense to Idolatry: The Reformation of Olfaction in Late Medieval German Ritual," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44, no. 2 (2013): 323–44, here 324.

7 Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City* (London: 2016), 98–112. See also Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward, eds., *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500* (Aldershot, UK: 2007), 1.

8 Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds., "Öffentliche Räume in der Frühen Neuzeit: Überlegungen zu Leitbegriffen und Themen eines Forschungsfeldes," in *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne: Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne: 2004), 11–51, here 23.

9 Peter Corrigan, "Interpreted, Circulating, Interpreting: The Three Dimensions of the Clothing Object," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Harold Riggins (Berlin: 1994), 435–49, here 435.

10 For the growth of population and accompanying poverty in the period, see Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: 1994), 36–44.

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diseased bodies and materials reveal how vulnerable the city was to harmful physical elements and how efforts to control those elements shaped the life and landscape of the city.

1 The Problem of Smelly Bodies

Throughout the medieval and early modern period, Nuremberg's city council responded to foul smells that threatened to overpower the daily function of city life. It regulated all activities associated with city wells, rivers, and waste removal. In addition, the council forced unclean industries to move outside city walls.[11] In this endeavor, city leaders weighed the population's need for clean air against the demands of less savory occupational pursuits. The medieval swine and pawn market known as the *Sewmarke*t (Säumarkt, Pig Market), functioned from a downriver island near the city's outflow of the Pegnitz River, where its odors were thought to be relatively contained. In 1488, nearby residents complained that the stench was unbearable during the summer months. In response, the council ordered the odoriferous pigs to be removed to an area outside the city walls, but they left the pawn market on the island.[12] In this way, city leaders minimized pollution by continually adapting the city's space to solve physical problems.[13]

The challenge for Nuremberg's authorities was to provide diseased individuals with adequate care while minimally violating the air of the healthy. The city council's solution, in concert with medical and spiritual authorities, was to build hospitals outside the city walls. This approach generally separated the sick from the healthy, while still preserving their access to appropriate civic, religious, and medical services. To this end, Nuremberg's strategies needed to accommodate physical interactions between the afflicted and the healthy people they encountered. Layers of cloth served as essential boundaries that attenuated the bodily odors of the diseased. For lepers, cloth barriers enabled their continued ritualized participation in civic and religious holidays within

11 Ernst Mummenhof, "Die Wasserversorgung in Nürnberg in altester Zeit," in *Aufsätze und Vorträge zur nürnberger Ortsgeschichte*, ed. Ernst Mummenhof (Nuremberg: 1931), 148–155. See also, Horst-Dieter Beyerstedt, "Woher das Wasser, wohin der Schmutz?" in *Der Nürnberg-Atlas: Vielfalt und Wandel der Stadt im Kartenbild*, eds. Wolfgang Baumann and Hajo Dietz (Cologne: 2007), 40–41.

12 Joseph Baader, ed., *Nürnberger Polizeiordnungen aus dem XIII bis XV Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: 1861), 282.

13 For a comparable study in Venice, see Jo Wheeler, "Stench in Sixteenth Century Venice," in Cowan and Steward, *The City and the Senses*, 25–38, here 29.

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the city. For plague and syphilis victims, cloth barriers were a crucial part of maintaining a healthy atmosphere for hospital personnel, other patients, and for the sick themselves. Cloth barriers did not rid the bodies of bacteria or eliminate all foul odors, but they demonstrated authorities' efforts to use available physical resources to grapple with physical problems in a manner that respected bodies, souls, and sensorial space.

Leprosy attacked mucus membranes, caused unsightly patches of detached skin, tumors, and eventually, loss of extremities.[14] This decay often centered on the nose and mouth which produced a hoarse, croaky voice and fetid breath.[15] Indeed, before his conversion, Francis of Assisi regarded the fetor of the leper's diseased body as so exceptionally bad that a popular legend stated that Francis would hold his nose when he received a whiff of a leper house from over two miles away.[16] In an effort to obey a purity command in Leviticus, medieval cities banished unclean sufferers from working or residing in town. These outcasts subsequently often formed informal communities outside city walls.[17] In 1179, the Third Lateran Council ordered local religious authorities to provide housing, religious ministrations, and sustenance for lepers.[18] Major cities erected semi-monastic leper houses, known as leprosaria, on their outer fringes. Pious donors worked with Nuremberg's city council to build four leprosaria outside of its walls: St. Johannis (*c.*1234), St. Jobst (1308), St. Leonhard (1317), and St. Peter and Paul (*c.*1300–50).[19] The benevolent foundations that funded those facilities, however, did not provide free care for every leper; entrance required residency in the city and often financial reimbursement. As a result of

14 Martin Uhrmacher, *Lepra und Leprosorien im rheinischen Raum vom 12. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Trier: 2011), 15.

15 Luke Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine: A Malady of the Whole Body* (Baltimore: 2007), 99, 178. See also Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine & Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, UK: 1995), 42.

16 Catherine Peyroux, "The Leper's Kiss," in *Monks & Nuns, Saints & Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society: Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, eds. Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: 2000), 172–88, here 186.

17 Lev. 13:14.

18 Carole Rawcliffe, "Isolating the Medieval Leper: Ideas—and Misconceptions—about Segregation in the Middle Ages," in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Donington: 2007), 229–48, here 240.

19 For studies on Nuremberg's leper houses, see Ingrid Busse, *Der Siechkobel St. Johannis vor Nürnberg (1234 bis 1807)* (Nuremberg: 1974); Christine Seidel, "Die Siechköbel vor den Mauern Nürnbergs" (Master's Thesis, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, 1984); Walter Steinmaier, *St. Jobst: Das Aussätzigenspital am Empfangsweg des Kaisers: Herrscherkult und Siechenhaus: Ein Beitrag zum Stadtausbau unter Karl IV. und zum Spitalwesen der freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: 2006).

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these limitations, many homeless lepers (*Feldsiechen*) lived in Nuremberg's surrounding fields and forests.[20]

The slow onset of severe symptoms meant that lepers generally interacted with healthy urban inhabitants more than is widely known.[21] They worked in agriculture, begged in city centers, and even hosted religious festivals on leper hospitals' chapel grounds.[22] Nuremberg's leprosaria ordinances included strategies to mitigate healthy people's exposure to the lepers' noxious odors upon interaction. Ordinances required that lepers use a staff when exchanging goods, remain downwind when speaking to healthy individuals, and sound a clapper when approaching the community.[23] The clapper alerted residents that the leper was collecting alms so that he need not raise his hoarse voice or shout with his foul breath.[24]

Various medical caregivers or fellows in the communities fit a variety of cloths against the broken, leprous skin. Leprosy impeded victims' ability to sweat, producing dry patches of skin that ruptured into fissures and dangling flaps; bacteria and parasitic infestations festered in the resulting sores.[25] Soft materials such as linen stockings and bandages helped to reinforce these lesions.[26] Linen bandaging can be seen in an image from a 1486 endowment book belonging to Nuremberg's St. Peter and Paul's leprosarium, which depicts well-groomed wrappings around a leper's head (see Fig. 12.1). Images of homeless lepers, in contrast, generally display less manicured wrappings around the head and other extremities, sites at which the disease attacked aggressively.[27]

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20 Rawcliffe, "Isolating the Medieval Leper," 240–42. See also Fritz Dross and Annemarie Kinzelbach, "'nit mehr alls sein burger, sonder alls ein frembder': Fremdheit und Aussatz in frühneuzeitlichen Reichsstädten," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 46 (2011): 1–23, here 18–19.

21 For the equation of leprosy and social death, see R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: 1987), 54–55; Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca: 1974), 51, 59, 147.

22 Rawcliffe, "Isolating the Medieval Leper," 267. See also, Elma Brenner, "Marginal Bodies and Minds: Responses to Leprosy and Mental Disorders in Late Medieval Normandy," in *The Place of the Social Margins, 1350–1750*, eds. Andrew Spicer and Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw (New York: 2017), 21–38, here 22–23.

23 "Leprosenordnungen," *Geschichte Betrifft Uns: Seuchen in der Geschichte* 3 (1988): 14.

24 François-Olivier Touati, "Contagion and Leprosy: Myth, Ideas and Evolution in Medieval Minds and Societies," in *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies*, eds. Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk (Aldershot: 2000), 179–202, here 179.

25 Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: 2006), 226.

26 Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, 331.

27 Stadtarchiv Nürnberg (hereafter as StadtAN), D7, A1a, fol. 2v (1486–1500); StadtAN, B35, Nr. 1509 (*c.*1530s); StadtAN, F1, Nr. 42, fol. 120r (1613).

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FIGURE 12.1 Lepers Look to the Suffering of Christ, gold miniature, 1486 endowment book for St. Peter and Paul's leprosarium, StadtAN, D7, A1a, fol. 2v (1486–1500). This image connects the symbolic white cloth used in communion with the division of Christ's clothes. It also gives a rare glimpse into the more normal pieces of clothing lepers wore instead of a typical habit, depicting breeches, tunic, mantle, and various cloth bandaging.

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Within the house lepers wore normal undershirts, breeches, and tunics, but by the early thirteenth century, ordinances show that lepers began wearing distinctive, identifying habits, usually composed of undyed grey or russet fabrics.[28] The habits were only ordered to be worn when the lepers left the house and had opportunities to interact with the healthy population. In 1317, the women of St. Leonard were ordered, "when they go on the fields or in the city, they should go as is proper, clothed in their gray garment."[29] The habit served as more than a visible identifier of the city's resident lepers; the heavy woolen material also provided a barrier against the body's offending odors. Ordinances inculcated the intact nature of the garment, specifying that leprous men were not to wear items slashed in the medieval fashion which revealed undergarments below, and ordered that items be "closed" for women.[30] Ordinances typically required that all extremities of lepers' bodies be secured from head to toe with hats or hoods, shoes, and gloves (Fig. 12.2).[31]

Nuremberg's leaders not only clothed their resident lepers, they also helped neighboring homeless lepers. In 1394, a group of Nuremberg's pious female patricians founded an event that provided medical diagnosis, religious ministration, and charity for nonresidential lepers. The *Lepraschau* (medical inspection of lepers), led by a woman known only as Mutter (*Mother*) Usslingerin, invited lepers into the city to St. Sebald's parish churchyard during Holy Week.[32] She organized food and clothing distribution and placed potent herbs throughout the event grounds.[33] The herbs purified the airs before the onslaught of hundreds of smelly lepers. In 1517, Pope Leo X was so impressed with the Lepraschau that he issued a papal bull authorizing indulgences for the charitable purpose, in which he particularly lauded the city's efforts to provide lepers with clean clothing, including a cap, linen shirt, and woolen cloak.[34]

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28 Damien Jeanne, "Leprosy, Lepers and Leper-houses: Between Human and God's Law (6th–15th Centuries)," in *Social Dimensions of Medieval Disease and Disability*, eds. Sally Crawford and Christina Lee (Oxford: 2014), 69–82, here 71. The practice of providing standardized habits occurred at the same time religious orders began to differentiate themselves with distinctive colors.

29 StadtAN, A 21–2, Nr. 150, fol. 172r (1465).

30 "Leprosenordnung des St. Jürgen—Hospitals zu Lübeck," *Die Klapper—Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Leprakunde* 1 (1986): 7. See also Jeanne, "Leprosy, Lepers and Leper-houses," 72.

31 Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Leprosy: Disease, Religion, and Politics in European Art* (Kirksville, MO: 2011), 68.

32 StadtAN, A 21–4°, Nr. 31 (1462).

33 Ibid., fol. 17v–18r.

34 StadtAN, A6, Nr. 69 (1517).

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FIGURE 12.2
The Leper's Habit, Nuremberg Sondersiechen-Stiftung record book, StadtAN, A 21–4°, Nr. 32–1 (ca. 1489)
Image depicts leper wearing the typical habit. The image shows layers covering broken skin often including wrapping over the head, wide-brimmed hat, gloves, and clapper.

Even more important than the gift of clothing, homeless lepers received a clean white cloth.[35] The white cloth was used specifically for taking communion. The corrosion of leper's diseased lips often threatened to expel the communion wafer. Officials instructed lepers to use the "nice white cloth" to "ensure that the body of our Lord does not come out."[36] The white cloth carried the added symbolism of spiritual purity, since the lepers received it only after attending confession and absolution.[37] The cloth appears in the aforementioned endowment book for St. Peter and Paul's (See Fig. 12.1). The white cloths drape over sufferers' shoulders as they look to the suffering Christ. Christ is

35 StadtAN, A 21–4°, Nr. 31 (1462), fol. 2v.
36 Ibid., fol. 18r.
37 Ibid., fol. 7v.

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being crucified while his garment is divided and distributed by the casting of lots.[38] Like the wounds of Christ, the leper's broken flesh was covered by Christ's clean white cloth. Attendees took the white cloth with them to enable communion through the year, and it served as their ticket for admission into the next year's Lepraschau event.

While lepers' foul smells were seen as incompatible with the normal function of medieval city life, they continued to come into the city for ritualized inclusions. Layers of cloth boundaries made the interactions with the small number of the city's resident lepers and the brief Lepraschau event tolerable. Nevertheless, throughout the late Middle Ages, the city council progressively curtailed such encounters as medical authorities warned that the foul odors of the sick were dangerous.[39] Galenic theory posited that foul vapors, or miasma, were causing widespread epidemics in Europe.[40] While the first outbreak of bubonic plague struck in the fourteenth century, Nuremberg experienced worsening devastation toward the sixteenth century when the increasing poor population escalated death tolls.[41] Ensuring clean air in city spaces was the only known way to combat the scourge.

Plague struck Nuremberg approximately once a decade. When an outbreak loomed, the city council sought to remove all odor-producing sources and implement systematic herb-burning to purify the city's airs.[42] City leaders sought to protect their inhabitants' bodies from ingesting sensual contamination and attempted to stop bodies from becoming additional sources of contamination. The council restricted congregation in marketplaces, churches, and at dances.[43] It curtailed lepers' begging within city walls and, in extreme cases, banned the annual Lepraschau event.[44] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, city leaders intensified their efforts to remove malodorous bodies to extramural spaces. In 1490, city patrician Sebald Schreyer endowed a Lazareth plague hospital northwest of Nuremberg's walls. Its purpose was twofold. First, it provided a space in which plague victims could receive medical and physical care.

38 StadtAN, D7, A1a, fol. 2v (1486–1500).

39 Baader, *Nürnberger Polizeiordnungen*, 318.

40 Rawcliffe, *Medicine & Society*, 42–43.

41 Charlotte Bühl, "Die Pestepidemien des ausgehenden Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg (1483/4 bis 1533/34)," in *Nürnberg und Bern: zwei Reichsstädte und ihre Landgebiete; neun Beiträge*, eds. Urs Martin Zahnd and Rudolf Endres (Erlangen: 1990), 121–168, here 134.

42 Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (hereafter as StAN), Rep. 53II, Verz. III, Nr. 62 (1543).

43 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 481, fols. 13v–14r; 44r; 38r–38v (1562).

44 Johannes Müllner, *Die Annalen Der Reichsstadt Nurnberg von 1623*, Vol. 3: *1470–1544* (Nuremberg: 2003), 587.

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Second, it was a space, outside the walls, "in which all of these people could be held contained from others who had been un-poisoned."[45]

In 1496, as Schreyer was in the process of endowing the plague hospital, the new disease of syphilis swept through Nuremberg.[46] Following an initial devastating outbreak, syphilis became an endemic scourge, infecting hundreds of the city's residents each year.[47] As described by Vives at the opening of this chapter, the disease produced stinking ulcers, with the smell visceral enough to be felt and tasted.[48] Martin Luther explicitly referenced the rank odors of the sick when speaking to a metaphorical enemy: "You are so full of running sores, pus, and syphilis that I am surprised anyone still endures you and your stench and that people still wait on you."[49] Many individuals blamed city odors on the poor beggars and workers who continued daily interactions despite their condition.[50] The city council expanded the Lazareth hospital to include a small facility for Nuremberg's syphilitic poor who lacked the means to seek private treatment or to remain secluded in their homes.[51] By the 1520s, the two Lazareth hospitals shared personnel and resources, enabling them to adapt to whichever disease presented the greatest threat to the city at any given time.[52]

In the Lazareth hospital, the need for cloth boundaries increased with the volume and proximity of patients. The syphilis hospital served over three

45 StadtAN, A 21–2, Nr. 116, fol. 5v (1490–1516).

46 Karl Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maβnahmen der Stadt Nürnberg gegen die Syphilis in den Jahren 1496 und 1497: Aktenstudien," *Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis* 116 (1911): 1–30, here 5.

47 On the problem of open syphilis wounds in early modern cities, see Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, 97. See also Mitchell Lewis Hammond, "Contagion, Honour and Urban life in Early Modern Germany," in *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire L. Carlin (Basingstoke, UK: 2005), 94–106.

48 Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals, and the Urban Poor: London's Foul Wards* (Rochester: 2004), 49. Siena suggests that private practices for syphilis were the beginning of doctor/patient confidentiality as affluent patients would secretly send off for remedies.

49 Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, Vol 22: *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John Chapters 1–4*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, trans. Martin H. Bertram (St. Louis: 1957), 132.

50 Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maβnahmen," 1–30, here 16.

51 StadtAN, D1, Nr. 2, fol. 48v (Ordnung des Lazareths 1543). For an overview of syphilis hospitals, see Robert Jütte, "Syphilis and Confinement: Hospitals in Early Modern Germany," in *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500–1950*, eds. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte (New York: 1999), 97–116.

52 For an explanation of the complex relationship between the two Lazareth Hospitals, see Amy Newhouse, "The Mystery of the St. Sebastian Lazareth: Mapping Contagious Disease Care in Sixteenth Century Nuremberg," in *Names and Naming in Early Modern Germany*, eds. Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer and Joel Harrington (Oxford: 2019), 125–48.

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hundred patients a year, and the plague hospital served thousands.[53] During the plague outbreak of 1533, Lazarus Spengler reported that patients were shoved into nearly every corner of the facility.[54] The early modern practice of bed-sharing meant that, in many cases, fabric provided the only impediment to the free flow of fluids and odors from one patient to the next.[55]

In the 1540s, physician Erasmus Flock wrote ordinances for both Lazareth hospitals. As with lepers, he argued that freshly broken skin or "open damage" was very dangerous as it emitted "evil smells" which threatened the healing atmosphere for the patient and his neighbors.[56] Treatment of open lesions included the cauterizing of syphilitic ulcers, or lancing, draining, and applying healing powder to engorged lymph nodes of plague sufferers.[57] The Lazareth administration purchased old sheets to make simple linen bandages from strips or to constitute plasters when dipped in resin.[58] The city council viewed cloth bandaging as so important that when material was scarce during the 1585 outbreak, it confiscated the linen "white things" from the personal items of the dead for use by Lazareth's barber-surgeons.[59]

It was not enough to simply dress the wounds. According to the medical philosophy of the day, the sick's skin ruptures resulted from overgrown humors within the body. Purgative treatments induced vomiting, bowel movements, and sweating.[60] The most notorious of such procedures involved the sweating of syphilis patients. Doctors placed the patient in a heated room, wrapped tightly in sheets, and then gave him or her an oral dose of mercury or guaiac wood.[61] Following the discharge of the patient's toxic fluids, hospital workers purified the air with smoke, and bath attendants bathed his or her body

53 StadtAN, D1, Nr. 2, fol. 48v (Ordnungs des Lazaretts 1543). From January 1562 to April 1563, the plague hospital served 3349 patients, returning 1671 healthy to the city. StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 481, fols. 80r (1562).

54 J. K. Ohlau, "Neue Quellen zur Familiengeschichte der Spengler, Lazarus Spengler und seine Söhne," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 52 (1963/64): 232–57, here 242.

55 For bed-sharing, see Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw, *Plague Hospitals: Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice* (Farnham, UK: 2012), 191.

56 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–7, fol. 54r (1561). See also StadtAN, D1, Nr. 2, fol. 47r (Ordnungs des Lazaretts 1543).

57 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–8, 57r (1561). See also StadtAN, A6, Nr. 309 (1569); StAN, Rep 631l, Verz. 111, Nr. 133, fols. D3v–D4r (1562).

58 StadtAN, D15, S14, Nr. 19, fol. 8r (1574).

59 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 540, 1v (1585).

60 Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: 1999), 10.

61 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–8, fol. 57r (1561). See also Franz Renner, *Ein new wolgegründet nützlichs unnd haylsams Handtbüchlein gemeiner Praktik aller innerlicher und eusserlicher Erzney wider die Krankheit der Franzosen* (Frankfurt: 1578), M2r.

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on the following day.[62] Caregivers then laid clean rags on shelves next to the patients' beds for any necessary fluid wiping.[63] An ordinance from hospital overseer Willibald Schlüsselfelder in 1567 forbade ambulatory patients from watching the barber-surgeons bandage the sick. In addition to possible modesty concerns, the treatments released toxic airs that could hinder other patients' recoveries.[64]

The concentration of putrid bodies in the Lazareth created an overall foul-aired atmosphere that was dangerous for healthy hospital workers. To protect themselves, workers used a variety of cloth barriers. Female caregivers, who cleaned the patients' rooms and collected soiled linens, blocked smells from their noses with a clean cloth dampened with sweet-smelling herbaceous waters.[65] Ministers wore layers of protective clothing when approaching sick and dying for confession and communion. Johann Heinrich Kirchberger, in an early seventeenth-century description of Nuremberg's Lazareth, reported that the pastor wore gloves, closed-toe-shoes, and a hooded garment, each layer being excessively fumigated before his entrance into the foul airs of the patient's room.[66] The Lazareth pastor used cloth boundaries from head to toe. With these layers, he was the reverse image of the leper, clad in habit, gloves, and wrappings. The cloth barriers allowed the lepers to interact with the healthy within the city, while another form of the same barriers helped the healthy pastor to interact with the sick in the Lazareth.

From a modern perspective, it is difficult to understand the nuance of medieval and early modern smellscapes. Nuremberg's authorities used cloth as a physical resource to defend the boundaries of appropriate odors from the incursion of miasmic odors. While disease contexts varied significantly from the days of Nuremberg's first leprosarium in the thirteenth century to the debilitating waves of plague in the late sixteenth, simple fabric remained a significant physical tool for attenuating the pernicious odors of diseased bodies, thereby enabling personal interaction between the sick and healthy.

62 Baths were heated on Tuesdays and Thursdays, generally alternating with medical treatments on Monday, Wednesday, and sometimes Friday. StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–8, fol. 56v (1561). See also StadtAN, A6, Nr. 298 (1567); StadtAN, D1, Nr. 2, fol. 54v (Ordnungs des Lazaretts 1543).

63 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–6, fol. 48v (1561).

64 StadtAN, A6, Nr. 298 (1567).

65 StadtAN, D15, S14, fols. 23r–v (n.d.). See also StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234, fol. 158r (n.d.).

66 Johann Heinrich Kirchberger, *Aphorismi, seu canones medicinales de peste d. Ist: kurtze Erinnerungspuncten von d. Pest; wie man es mit e.u. andern, im Pesthauß oder auff d. Land, zur Pestzeit halten soll* (Nuremberg: 1625), fol. A3r–A4r.

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2 The Problem of Smelly Clothes

Even as the material properties of cloth fabric made it a useful barrier for the body, it also generated additional physical challenges for Nuremberg: smelly bodies created smelly cloth and cloth used for the diseased could spread miasma in the city if not disposed of properly. As the number of infected inhabitants increased, authorities were forced to allocate physical places and procedures for handling contaminated cloth goods in addition to the diseased bodies. Cloth materials brought their own physical challenges. The same properties that gave cloth its value—absorbency, transferability, and portability—also made it difficult to contain as unsuspecting and opportunistic inhabitants routinely circumvented authorities' vigorous efforts to maintain healthy olfactory boundaries in the city.

The absorbent property of cloth meant that linen and woolen fibers absorbed filthy fluids and reeked of miasmic airs. From the first outbreak of plague in the fourteenth century, European cities blamed the spread of disease on polluted cloth and often burned all cloth belonging to the sick or dead.[67] When founding Nuremberg's Lazareth, Sebald Schreyer maintained that all cloth goods belonging to incoming patients should be "burned to ash."[68] This policy proved challenging to implement. Poor hospital patients often had no clothing other than what they had worn into the facility. The hospital's administrator advised the city council that the facility could only remain solvent if the city's craft guilds accepted the responsibility of clothing their syphilitic associates while they recuperated.[69] Nuremberg's policies display a priority to keep and clean valued cloth items. The hospital provided new clothing only in exceptional cases. In 1574, the Lazareth employed a convalescing tailor to sew clothing for nine poor boys. The hospital offered him a rain cloak from which he was able to fashion tunics for the boys' discharge.[70] When Nuremberg's authorities chose not to burn diseased-contaminated garments, they designated personnel, transport pathways, and a secure space to prevent the cloth from radiating odors into the city's healthy air.

Nuremberg's Lazareth was the most significant producer of dangerous cloth items. Hospital ordinances specified protocols for the swift removal of disease soiled materials. When a patient gained admission to the Lazareth, the

67 Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester: 1994), 195–203, here 195. The early recognition that cloth goods furthered infestation probably had more to do with vermin which accompanied the goods rather than the bad odors they perpetuated.

68 StadtAN, A 21–2, Nr. 116, fol. 5v (1490–1516).

69 StadtAN, D1, Nr. 2, 21v (Verlaß, 1527).

70 StadtAN, D15, S14, fol. 8r (1574).

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headmistress collected his or her miasmic garments, then provided a hospital shirt.[71] Regarding daily patient care, physicians such as Erasmus Flock warned about the dangers of bed linens. Bedding absorbed the brunt of the sweat, excretions, and expectorated fluids. The summer heat and high infection rates saturated overcrowded beds with perspiration. Winter brought no relief either because the wintry weather promoted fungi-like growths when the cold mixed with human moisture.[72] Barber-surgeons exacerbated these noxious odors with sweating treatments designed so that the internal "stink from the wound could come out."[73] In 1561, head administrator of the syphilis hospital Rottger Kohost advised the city of Ulm to ensure that workers in its hospitals remove soiled sheets, shirts, and bindings, and provide fresh ones after the patient's sweating treatment.[74] Each morning, caregivers checked for soiled clothes, including rags used by female patients when they had "their bleeding times," and disposed of old dressings in designated places in accordance with the command that "no unclean bandages were to be left lying on the bed."[75] The headmistress and caregivers relayed the soiled items securely to washerwomen stationed at the makeshift wash-hut adjacent to the Lazareth.

City plague overseers enacted emergency measures to secure the cloth goods associated with residents who contracted plague at home. Those measures called for the Lazareth to dispatch a washerwoman to go to the dwelling to wipe down bedposts and bureaus, and to inventory infected laundry. She was authorized to confiscate all bedding and garments, including the items which had not been used to care for the plague victim directly. She was accompanied by a guard, who then closed and boarded the house after its cleaning.[76] In 1562, the city council ordered that these houses be locked for eight weeks.[77]

Getting the dangerous materials out of the city presented another challenge. The washerwoman was to immediately convey the items directly to the Lazareth, "not allowing one overnight."[78] She was instructed to avoid wafting the odors of those materials into populated areas. As she walked, she was required to avoid the market, city hall, bathhouses, churches, and taverns. The guard accompanied her to ensure that both she and the disease victim's family

71 StadtAN, D1, Nr. 2, fol. 53v (Ordnung Im Lazareth 1547). See also StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–6, fol. 48v (1561).
72 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–7, fol. 55r (1561).
73 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234, fol. 156r (n.d.).
74 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–8, fol. 58r (1561).
75 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–7, fol. 55v (1561).
76 StadtAN, D15, S14, Nr. 19, fol. 19r–v (n.d.).
77 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 481, fol. 33r (1562).
78 StadtAN, D15, S14, Nr. 19, fol. 19r–19v (n.d.).

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complied with these safeguards.[79] Any deviation from the protocol by family members or by the washerwoman could result in a miasmic item violating healthy space. Once at the Lazareth, the items were added to hospital materials and laundered in the hospital's wash-hut.

After collecting the materials, city authorities faced yet another obstacle—safe laundering. The normal laundry process was already a physical challenge because it required the use of caustic cleaners such as ammonia or lye that could also pollute city air.[80] City authorities were concerned about both the smell of harsh cleansers and the release of disease-causing pollution into the city's waterways.

The problem of contaminated laundry was recognized by European civic authorities as early as the thirteenth century.[81] They feared that lepers' garments polluted water sources. Municipal authorities generally designated separate laundry sites and protocols for their city's small number of resident lepers.[82] In contrast, the huge volume of laundry generated by hundreds of smelly Lepraschau attendees represented a much greater challenge. By the mid-sixteenth century, attendance grew from 500 to over 1000 bodies. In 1558, event overseer Georg Keyel complained that the increase had "more than doubled" the amount of pungent laundry, overwhelming event overseers and city residents.[83] The number of participants grew, in large part, due to the increasing poverty in Nuremberg's hinterlands. In the early 1550s, the city experienced two protracted sieges that also devastated surrounding villages. Hundreds of displaced poor joined the lepers as they looked to Nuremberg for charity.[84]

Typically, the overseers employed civic laundresses to wash the event's dirty linens outside of Nuremberg's southeastern gate at a site known as the Galgenhof.[85] The area was an appropriate space for harsh cleansers and pollution because it already contained the gallows and the pig market, which had been removed from the Sewmarket mentioned above (See Fig. 12.3). The space also had access to the Fischbach stream, which the council had diverted to

79 Ibid.

80 Carole Rawcliffe, "A Marginal Occupation? The Medieval Laundress and her Work," *Gender & History* 21, no. 1 (2009): 147–69, here 152–53. See also Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1986), 94.

81 Rawcliffe, "A Marginal Occupation?," 156.

82 StAN, Rep. 52a, Nr. 183, fol. 17v (1580). The lepers' explicit use of wells for laundry is not mentioned in Nuremberg until 1580 although early sources talk about general water usage.

83 StadtAN, A26, Rep. 90, Nr. 109, fol. 4r (Keyel: 1558).

84 Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth-Century: City Politics and Life* (New York: 1976), 183–87.

85 StadtAN, A26/90, Nr. 109, fol. 4r (Keyel: 1558).

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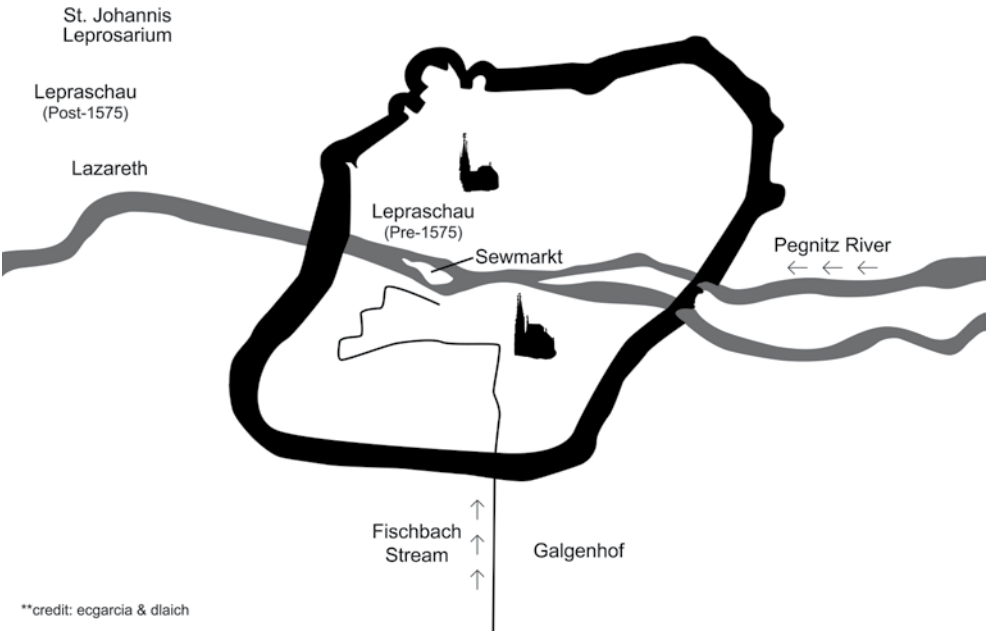

FIGURE 12.3 Sites of Disease and Cloth Care in Nuremberg.

supply water for the everyday tasks of craft guilds and other inhabitants.[86] As with other disease combating decisions, placement of this laundry site also proved problematic. Because the Galgenhof was upstream from the city, the water contaminated by laundry operations violated clean city space when it flowed downstream. Keyel complained that in order for laundresses "to wash the linens in the Fischbach at the streams' inflow, all of their unsavoriness flows through the city which has been onerous to me, but it is also a burden for the community who used the stream on a daily basis."[87] Keyel pleaded with the council to move the growing heap of laundry to the river's outflow, where laundresses could dump their washing cauldrons without disbursing insalubrious smells through the city.[88]

Similarly, the greatest logistical challenge for plague overseers was to ensure that official washerwomen laundered all tainted items in the outflow of the river from the Lazareth's wash hut.[89] Ordinances ordered that the items be thoroughly scoured three times with "nothing less than lye or bleach" and

86 Beyerstedt, "Woher das Wasser," 40–41.
87 StadtAN, A26/90, Nr. 109, fol. 4r (Keyel: 1558).
88 Ibid., fol. 2r, 4r.
89 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 481, fol. 7r (1562).

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finished in the flowing air.[90] The council feared that any remaining items within the city would act as miasmic bombs when residents improperly washed them. As waves of plague grew in virulence throughout the sixteenth century, the city council blamed the spread on inhabitants who continued to launder their own contaminated items. In 1543, the council officially renewed the civic plague ordinances. In the new version, it added a paragraph regarding the dangers of laundry.[91] The council informed the people that it was due to the washing of "sick soiled clothing and bedding, [that] the healthy are being easily poisoned."[92] In 1562 the council drew a firmer boundary, requiring that city inhabitants only wash "poisoned" cloth goods outside the city's northwestern walls at the outflow of the Pegnitz. If city authorities discovered the residents laundering such items inside the city walls or anywhere in the Fischbach stream, it would result in the hefty fine of ten Rheinish Gulden and possible corporal punishment.[93]

The mid-sixteenth century's growing need for a safe laundry site led Georg Keyel to urge the council to build a permanent washhouse. He argued in a report to the council that the building would "avoid the cost and damage [*Schaden*]" that the city was currently experiencing.[94] He proposed the construction of the structure "before the city gates at the Lazareth." By building a general washhouse that belonged to the hospital, "one could wash the laundry of the other diseased people as well at the lowest possible cost."[95] A large physical structure synergistically accommodated the bed sheets tainted daily by syphilis victims' sweating treatments, annual Lepraschau linens, and the once a decade massive volume of plague-infested cloth goods. Later references to the washhouse imply that it was built as part of the Lazareth's expanded structure.[96]

The absorbent quality of cloth goods necessitated authorities to designate spaces in which corrupt material could be held, assign personnel who could secure and safely transport the items, and specify safe protocols for laundering cloth items without releasing harmful toxins into the city's atmosphere and water. Even if all of these efforts were perfectly spatially planned, cloth goods were always vulnerable to humans carrying them across the proscribed boundaries. Authorities were also forced to take measures to ensure that errant city

90 StAN, D15, S14, Nr. 19, fol. 19r (n.d.).
91 StAN, Rep 53II, Verz. III, Nr. 7/1 (1522, reprinted in 1533).
92 StAN, Rep 53II, Verz. III, Nr. 62 (13 November 1543).
93 StAN, Rep 53II, Verz. III, Nr. 62 (13 November 1543). See also StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 481, fol. 48v (1562).
94 StadtAN, A26/90, Nr. 109, 4v (Keyel: 1558).
95 Ibid., 4r–v.
96 StAN, D15, S14, Nr. 19r (n.d.).

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inhabitants or hospital personnel did not divert this cloth into their homes, pawnshops, or the black market.

Cloth materials were highly valued in early modern culture. Householders prized clothing and bedding, as evidenced by wills, testaments, and city records. After death, city officials inventoried possessions, even recording those who "owned nothing more than old clothing."[97] Materials were customarily altered to fit current needs. Inhabitants repaired worn pieces until they were tattered, and then they re-purposed those pieces into aprons, rags, or shrouds.[98] Surplus cloth goods were also sold, traded and bequeathed. This circulation was particularly tempting during plagues when family members died and no longer needed their clothing and bedding. The transferable nature of cloth goods prompted city authorities to attempt to curtail the sale or trade of suspect goods; however, those transactions were hard to regulate since cloth could be easily washed, altered, or resewn into different forms.[99]

For Nuremberg's poor residents, cloth goods circulated through its pawn market, the Sewmarket.[100] City regulations required vendors to inquire after the origin of products sold and to watch for reported cases of theft.[101] Out of desperation, the poor routinely defied regulations against pawning disease-contaminated cloth goods. The council held the vendors responsible. Periodically, it demanded renewed oaths from the on-site peddlers, swearing that they would vigilantly guard against items for which there was the slightest suspicion of plague contamination.[102] Frustrated by the perceived failures of these efforts during the 1562 outbreak, the council concluded that the only safe solution was to ban the sale of all used "clothing, bedding and anything of linen," in the market, or in the city as a whole for the duration of the outbreak.[103]

97 Merry Wiesner Wood, "Paltry Peddlers or Essential Merchants? Women in the Distributive Trades in Early Modern Nuremberg," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12, no. 2 (1981): 3–13, here 8.

98 Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, *The Plague Files: Crisis Management in Sixteenth-Century Seville* (Baton Rouge: 2009), 113–14.

99 StadtAN, D7, A1a, fol. 14v; StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–9, fol. 64r–65r (n.d.). Even washing did not absolve suspicion from contaminated items. Nuremberg's civic statutes for their Leprosaria forbade its residents from bequeathing their linens to family members in the city. Within the Lazareth itself, regulations stipulated that the headmistress maintain a strict division of linens, ensuring that healthy caregivers and convalescents did not receive the contaminated sheets of the sick or dead. Even with these precautions, city officials did not view laundering as wholly effective.

100 Baader, *Nürnberger Polizeiordnungen*, 282.

101 Wiesner Wood, "Paltry Peddlers or Essential Merchants?," 9. See also Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 134–42.

102 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 481, fol. 40v (1562).

103 Ibid.

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The transferability and portability attributes of cloth materials made them susceptible to theft. Access to the Lazareth's vast accumulation of cloth items proved too tempting for some hospital personnel. In 1585, Hans Hoffman, an errand runner for the hospital, was convicted and executed for stealing "the clothes from the sick, infected people in the Lazareth."[104] The council feared similar thefts by low-level hospital workers so it designated the headmistress as the sole responsible person for the security of the most important cloth goods in the hospital, the unguarded clothes of the deceased. When patients died, she was to collect their items with her own hands and prepare them for proper washing, airing, and storage until they could be returned to the patient's family.[105] These prescriptions were only as effective as the headmistress adhering to them. In September 1585, the Lazareth's headmistress Anna Vischerin was accused of placing the best clothes of the dead in baskets and "suspiciously handling them."[106] Later, she was convicted along with the head administrator, Lucas Helm, and his wife for selling the clothing of the dead on the black market.[107] One month later, the new headmaster and mistress were accused of the same crime. They confessed, presumably under torture. They admitted that they not only wanted to profit from the clothing but also to distribute the tainted items to "further spread the damaging sickness," thereby prolonging their employment in the Lazareth.[108]

By the 1580s, the council delegated personnel to audit inventories and reports from hospital administrators. It encouraged hospital employees to inform supervisors of suspected misdeeds.[109] Since the Lazareth's washhouse was the focal point of contaminated cloth materials, the council and plague overseers also posted a guard at the washhouse with specific instructions to monitor the movement of cloth in and out of the complex. He was entrusted with, ostensibly, the only key to prevent any cloth from being "pilfered, transformed, altered, or exchanged."[110] Banishment, tower imprisonment, or corporal punishments was ordered for hospital workers who used their access to unclean hospital items in a way that violated clean city space.

104 Franz Schmidt, *The Executioner's Journal*, trans. Joel Harrington (Charlottesville: 2016), 25. See also the chronicle account, StAN, Rep. 52a, Nr. 130, fols. 916–17.

105 StAN, Rep. 52b, Nr. 234–9, fol. 65r (n.d.).

106 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 484, fol. 8r (1585).

107 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 484, fol. 9r–v (1585).

108 StadtAN, B19/1, Nr. 540, fol. 1r (1585).

109 StadtAN B19/1, Nr. 484, fol. 6v. This oversight was particularly used to monitor administrators' overuse of wine and food resources.

110 StadtAN, D15, S14, Nr. 19, fols. 12r–13r (n.d.).

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Nuremberg's authorities also had to protect the city from yet another kind of cloth violation: the counterfeit. Over the course of the century, white cloths were issued to lepers as Lepraschau admission tickets; however, both genuine and counterfeit white cloths became popular black market items.[111] Legitimate cloths were hard to discern from the illegitimate since the cloths generally became dirty and tattered through a year's worth of regular use. Civic overseers accused the poor of selling the white cloths, buying counterfeits, or ripping them into pieces to gain admittance for multiple people.[112] Gabriel Nützel complained that 1200 white cloths were used to gain entrance to the Lepraschau in 1563, but it had only given out 900 the year before.[113] Event overseers also noted that cloth was so subject to alteration, theft, counterfeit, and improper transfer that they had no means of filtering fraudulent participants. As a result of this lack of oversight, hundreds of unauthorized beggars poured into Nuremberg, harassed inhabitants, and filled the city airs with their filth.[114] From 1574 to 1575, as the city faced a regional famine and dysentery epidemic, Nuremberg authorities decided that they could no longer risk the city's exposure to the potential of an increased volume of dangerous bodies. Since the white cloth no longer provided a reliable basis upon which the city could provide charity to an identifiable, finite group, the council moved the event outside the city walls. Use of the new site, near the Lazareth, ensured the purity of the air within the city.[115]

Over the century, the absorbent, portable, and transferable properties of cloth challenged authorities' efforts to maintain healthy airs. Each attempt to control one problem often precipitated an additional problem: breezes spread foul odors during collection and transport, laundering polluted wells and rivers, and thieves targeted laundered cloth storage sites. The council increasingly crafted its tactics to meet cloths' physical challenges by allocating spaces for care and by assigning accountable personnel at sites where common transgressions occurred. Remarkably, small cloth articles proved harder to control than sick bodies, particularly when Nuremberg's inhabitants had vested

111 For the phenomena for the healthy pretending to be leprous, see Robert Jütte "Lepra-Simulanten: 'De iis qui morbum simulant'," in *Neue Wege in der Seuchengeschichte*, eds. Martin Dinges and Thomas Schlich (Stuttgart: 1995), 25–42.

112 StadtAN, A26/90, Nr. 109, Nr. 109, fol. 3v (Nutzel: 1564).

113 Ibid.

114 StadtAN, A26/90, Nr. 109, Nr. 109, fol. 4r (Keyel: 1558). See also StadtAN, A26, A26/90, Nr. 109, fol. 2r–3r (Bemer: 1560); StadtAN, A26/90, Nr. 109, fol. 2r (Nutzel: 1564).

115 StadtAN, A6, Nr. 356 (10 March 1576). For a discussion of how a printed physician's letter eventually replaced the white cloth, see Georg Wolfang Karl Lochner, "Die Sondersiechen in Nürnberg, ihr Almosen und ihre Schau," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde* 17 (1861): 177–252, here 235.

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interests in circumventing regulations. By the end of the sixteenth century, the council tried to limit its vulnerability to cloth by using the same strategy it used for sick bodies. It moved the items outside of the city walls to the outflow of the Pegnitz River where the council hoped administrators and guards could prevent the contaminated goods from reaching city space.

3 Conclusion

An analysis of Nuremberg's diseased bodies and the cloth that covered them reveals the importance of physicality in the early modern period. The city council and other civic authorities struggled to define and maintain olfactory boundaries that ameliorated health across city space. The city still remained vulnerable to unending waves of bacteria-laden bodies and materials. Even the best solutions posed new problems for city leaders when the use of physical solutions introduced another set of physical ramifications. The council's increasing efforts to appoint medical experts, caregivers, laundresses, hospital administrators, civic overseers, and guards to critical locations are not examples of any form of hegemony; rather, these attempts at control are evidence of the council's perceived failures in the desperate struggle against the foul odors produced by an increasingly congested city. The bodies of the diseased and the cloth that they wore above their skin were more integral to city life than their extramural placement would suggest. Their constant sensual encroachment on healthy boundaries drove changes in the city's landscape, personnel allocation, and the intensification of regulations that became an inextricable reality of daily Nuremberg life.

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CHAPTER 13

Masculinities in Sixteenth-Century Imagery: A Contribution to Early Modern Gender History

Helmut Puff

As has long been recognized, visual images allow for manifold insights into the history of gender in general and the history of masculinity in particular.* Drawings, prints, and material objects often communicate compelling conceptions of masculine existence that differ markedly from those circulated in prescriptive sources. This is especially the case when artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Urs Graf projected signs of their artistic selves into the scenarios they depicted, as was not uncommon in sixteenth-century imagery. Such practices sought to mold the viewers' reactions. Our task as interpreters, I contend in this chapter, is to sound out and explore these visual complexities. Doing so promises to shed new light on how notions of controlled masculinity functioned during the Reformation era.

In writings on the history of masculinities, "hegemonic masculinity" has proven tremendously influential ever since R. W. Connell introduced the concept in 1995.[1] In Connell's words, hegemonic masculinity refers to the cultural practices by which men "claim and sustain a leading position in life."[2] Put differently, this term captures a historically contingent and context-specific gender dynamic that works to perpetuate patriarchal structures, here defined as "the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."[3]

With hegemonic masculinity, Connell capitalized on Antonio Gramsci's insights into the workings of bourgeois society from his *Prison Notebooks* (*Quaderni del carcere, 1929–1935*) with their commentaries on society, politics,

* This chapter is based on Helmut Puff, "Männlichkeit in Bildquellen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 68 (2017): 535–48. My gratitude goes to Domenic de Socio for having helped me with the translation.

1 R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: 1995). The new edition of 2005 is unchanged, with the exception of an additional preface (XI–XXV) that charts the study's reception from the author's perspective. See also John Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 179–202; R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society* 19 (2005): 829–59.

2 Connell, *Masculinities*, 77.

3 Ibid.

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history, and historical materialism.[4] The mere execution of power, termed "domination," this Marxist thinker posited, is insufficient to explain why one social group gains, retains, or loses control over others. Rather, in civil society and public life, certain ideas, values, acts, or emotions curry legitimacy, prestige, and authority. Importantly, such processes of selection occur not only by coercion but also by consent, or a mix of both. Against the economic determinism current in much nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Marxism, Gramsci insisted on the cultural sphere as a significant domain of social action. The *Prison Notebooks* even contain comments on what writers at the time, including the author, called the "sexual question." Among the themes he covers under this rubric are the repression of sexual passion, the capitalist division of labor, and the asymmetries between the sexes which disadvantaged women.[5] Tellingly, hegemony appears as a relational term in Gramsci as well as Connell. As both critics present the term, hegemony conjures up a nexus of conceptual and other relations: "A relational approach makes it easier to recognize the hard compulsions under which gender configurations are formed, the bitterness as well as the pleasure in gendered experience," as the latter puts it poignantly.[6]

Weaving politics, culture, and gender together, hegemonic masculinity has proven alluring to many historians who study men and manhood across a vast array of periods or geographies.[7] The fact that hegemonic masculinity continues to hold sway in many studies on masculinities is why it is requisite that

4 For a history of their term, see Connell and Messerschmidt "Hegemonic Masculinity," 830–33. For Gramsci's ideas on these topics, see Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: 1971), especially 55–90. See also John Schwarzmantel, *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's Prison Notebooks* (London: 2015); Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: 1980). On hegemony as a term, its history prior to Gramsci and its usages in the *Prison Notebooks*, see Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," *New Left Review* 100 (1976): 5–78, esp. 13–28. On the reception of Gramsci, see Geoff Eley, "Reading Gramsci in English: Observations on the Reception of Antonio Gramsci in the English-speaking World 1957–1982," *European History Quarterly* 14 (1984): 441–78, esp. 456–64 (hegemony).

5 Michael Ekers, "Gramsci and the Erotics of Labor: More Notes on the 'The Sexual Question,'" in *Gramsci: Space, Nature, Politics*, eds. Michael Ekers, Gillian Hart, Stefan Kipfer, and Alex Loftus (Chichester: 2013), 217–37.

6 Connell, *Masculinities*, 76.

7 For example, John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: 2004), 41–58; Peter Davies, "'Crisis' or 'Hegemony'? Approaches to Masculinity," in *Edinburgh German Yearbook*, vol. 2: *Masculinities in German Culture*, eds. Sarah Colvin and Peter Davies (Rochester, NY: 2008), 1–19; Jeff Hearn, "Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities: Presentation of the Research Theme," *GEXcel Work in Progress Report* 5 (2009): 13–26.

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gender historians take note of the ways in which this concept structures modes of inquiry in the field. First and foremost, it throws down the gauntlet against understanding masculinity as monolithic. The one-word title of Connell's book, *Masculinities*, is programmatic in this regard by casting embodied manhood as multiple, not singular.[8] As a result, specific masculinities proliferated in the relevant historiography: knightly masculinity, clerical masculinity, military masculinity, etc.[9] At the same time, this wealth of descriptors that capture hegemonic or subordinate masculinities—sometimes neatly defined, sometimes less so—obfuscates the complexities that animated and shaped particular masculinities. By focusing on the asymmetrical relations between different types of embodied manhood, formative tensions within gendered structures have remained in the shadows. By tension, I do not refer to a psychological condition or even to the strains manifest in male subjectivity at particular moments in history.[10] Rather, tension as a descriptor seeks to describe structural relations that defy an attempt to order them hierarchically.[11] Such relations, as I want to show in the following, often prove to be particularly potent and generative in interactions and representations.

In order to present a case as to why tensions matter in cultural analysis, I want to discuss sixteenth-century imagery. As readers of *Masculinities* know, the early modern period is crucial to Connell's theorization of hegemonic masculinity. Like many other sociologists, Connell pays particular attention to historical phenomena on the threshold of modernity. The key "period from about 1450 to about 1650 (the 'long' sixteenth century)" comprised, she claims, interconnected phenomena: an increased emphasis on the conjugal household, the emergence of colonial empires with a global reach, the growth of metropolitan centers, and the rise of capitalism. Consequently, if we follow Connell, hegemonic masculinity is appropriate as an analytic only after the Middle Ages ended.[12]

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8 See also R. W. Connell, *Gender* (Cambridge: 2002), 28–52; R. W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Berkeley: 2000), 57–127.

9 On this point, see Toby L. Ditz, "The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gender Power: Some Remarks from Early American Gender History," *Gender & History* 16 (2004): 1–35.

10 Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 1996). Breitenberg refers to tensions frequently, usually with regard to "male subjectivity."

11 Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 846. Connell and Messerschmidt confirm the hierarchical approach in the section entitled "What Should Be Retained" of the concept in future research.

12 Critical with regard to this chronology, Martin Dinges, "'Hegemoniale Männlichkeit'—ein Konzept auf dem Prüfstand," in *Männer—Macht—Körper: Hegemoniale Männlichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis heute*, ed. Martin Dinges (Frankfurt: 2005), 7–33, esp. 14–18. See also Bea Lundt, "Der Mythos vom Kaiser Karl: Die narrative Konstruktion europäischer

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The patriarchal entrenchment that Connell identifies for the sixteenth century marks a signature change—a change that went hand in hand with a reformation of media.[13] As part of efforts to order religious and social life anew, discourses of instruction sought to effectively reform human behavior. Not unlike many didactic texts, images instantiated moral guidance while offering occasions for the viewer to ponder, reflect, and take pleasure. Viewed thus, visual representations are not solely mimetic; they are, among other things, agential in ways we have yet to fully uncover. As Patricia Simons states, "visual vocabularies are necessarily allusive at times and various components can combine in inventive, even contradictory ways."[14] This may very well be one reason among others why imagery played a prominent part in molding and modeling masculinities in this period.[15]

The series of readings that follows offers a foray into the vast terrain of visual analysis with a focus on how the study of visuality can be marshalled for men's histories. First, Albrecht Dürer's *Adam and Eve* will introduce us to artists who projected signs of their male artistic selves into the scenarios they depicted. This general point is subsequently deepened by turning to images of soldiers, a type of masculinity that attracted great attention at the time and has been termed hegemonic.[16] As we will see, artists celebrated military prowess while simultaneously distancing themselves from soldiers' masculinity in a variety of ways. In order to make a case for expanding our visual archive, I finally discuss a material object, a piece of furniture—a visual medium that has rarely been tackled with regard to embodied masculinity.

1 Adam as Model Man

The father and mother of all humans were familiar to Christian believers from sermons and devotional literature as well as sculptures and altar paintings. In

Männlichkeit im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Karl dem Großen," Dinges, *Männer—Macht—Körper*, 37–51; Andrea Moshövel, "'Der hât ainen weibischen muot …': Männlichkeitskonstruktionen bei Konrad von Megenberg und Hildegard von Bingen," in Dinges, *Männer—Macht—Körper*, 52–65.

13 Helmut Puff, Ulrike Strasser, and Christopher Wild, eds., *Cultures of Communication: Theologies of Media in Early Modern Europe and Beyond* (Toronto: 2017).

14 Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: 2011), 19.

15 See R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: 1994).

16 See, for instance, Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: 2004).

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the words of Wolfgang Schmale, the first couple offered a "public model of the sexes."[17] Depictions of the Fall are not mere illustrations of a biblical story, however. To be sure, sculptures, paintings, prints, and drawings tell the story of the Fall within certain narrative parameters as well as iconographic traditions, yet these same parameters and traditions allow for variations. The biblical story was reformulated, adjusted, and adapted. Such differences at times had far-reaching implications for the story itself, not least regarding the relation of the sexes.[18] It is remarkable in this regard, for example, how in Dürer's signature print Adam's left hand not only protrudes into Eve's space—without touching his companion other than with his gaze—but the hand's open palm also signals his willingness to take the apple, even before Eve offers it, thus suggesting their shared responsibility for the Fall (Fig. 13.1).[19]

As is well known, the model for Dürer's Adam in *Adam and Eve* (1504) is the Apollo Belvedere, a Roman marble statue after a Greek bronze. Known, if not revered, since the late fifteenth century, this sculpture was on display in the part of the Vatican Palace called Belvedere; hence the name. Dürer knew the sculpture through reproductions.[20] For his Eve, by contrast, the artist did not use a particular model. There is no evidence that he based her figure on an individual ancient statue of Venus or another similar image, as some critics have argued.[21] The surviving preliminary studies of this epochal engraving tell a different story. Whereas several studies of female figures based on sculptures from antiquity exist from his hand, none can pass as a prototype for the Eve in *Adam and Eve*. Her figure may be best understood as relational to Adam's.[22] The artist

17 Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa* (*1450–2000*) (Vienna: 2003), 20.

18 Kathleen M. Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation* (Cambridge: 2010); Susan Karant-Nunn, "'Kinder, Küche, Kirche': Social Ideology in the Sermons of Johannes Mathesius," in *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, eds. Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville: 1992), 121–40.

19 For a discussion of a British Museum preparatory sketch done by Dürer depicting several sketched arms including one holding an apple, see Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London: 2002), 150–51 (no. 88). For a discussion of a Pierpont Morgan Library drawing done by Dürer, where both Adam and Eve hold an apple, see Klaus Albrecht Schröder and Maria Luise Sternath, eds., *Albrecht Dürer* (Vienna: 2003), 255 (no. 63). See also Jochen Sander, ed., *Dürer: Kunst—Künstler—Kontext* (Munich: 2013), 140–153 (cat. 5.10–5.20).

20 Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 234. See Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer*, 140 (no. 84) (1501–1504) (a copy after a copy of Apollo Belvedere is designated as "Apolo" in inverse writing, whereas the torso of a sculpture of Goddess Diana remains undesignated).

21 Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer*, 150–53 (no. 86–90); Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 254–55 (no. 63–65).

22 See Berthold Hinz, "Apollo and Diana," in Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 252–53 (no. 62): "Bemerkenswert ist, dass der entstehenden männlichen Idealfigur [des Apollo

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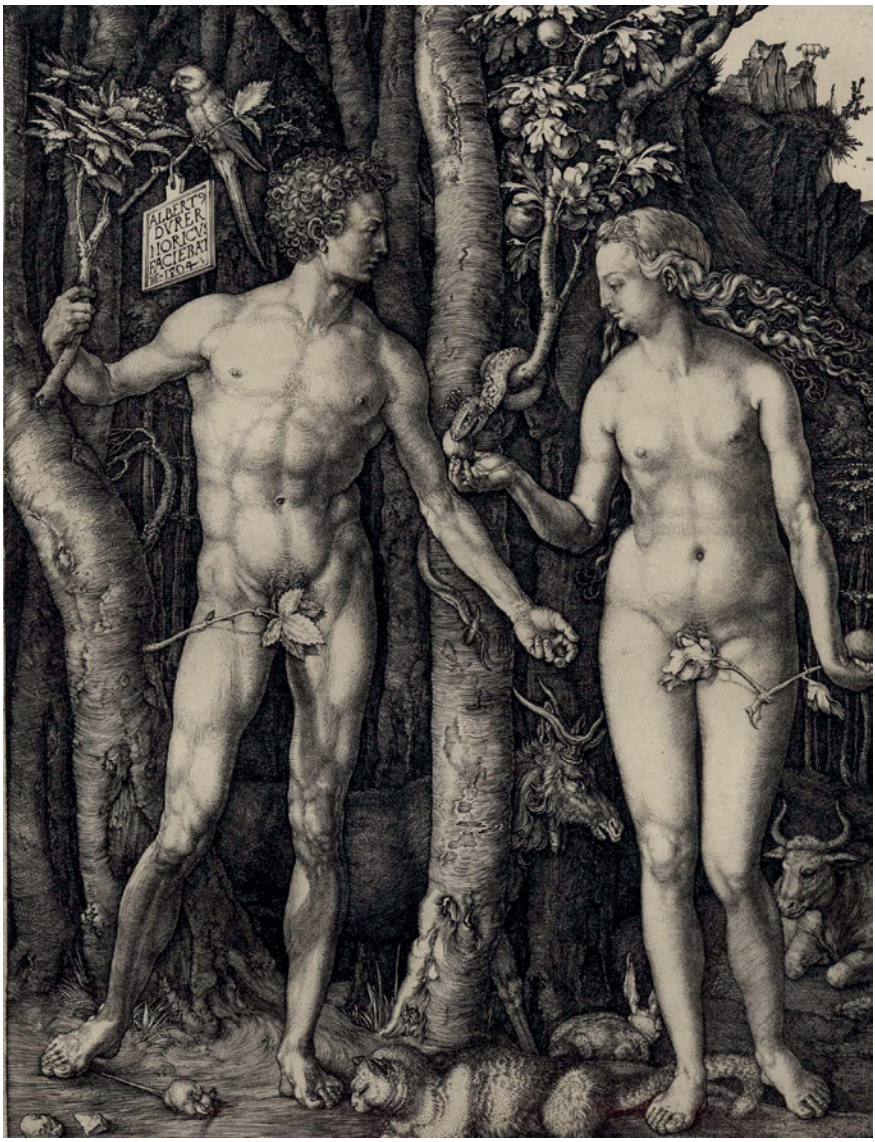

FIGURE 13.1 Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*, engraving, 1504, 256 × 195 mm, British Museum, Inv. 1868.0822.167
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shaped her posture and features to correspond with his figure. Put differently, Dürer seems to have devised Eve as Adam's counterpart. In doing so, the artist's work may have drawn its impulse from one of the two biblical accounts about human creation, in which the first man's companion is created out of his rib (Gen. 2:21–23). Her secondary position, one needs to add, must not necessarily be interpreted as inferior. Theologians occasionally presented Eve as the more perfect creature in comparison to Adam. After all, he was made of "dust from the ground" (Gen. 2:7) whereas, following this exegetical tradition, Eve was of finer material, the human body.[23] As Martin Sonnabend observes with regard to early impressions of Dürer's engraving, "Eve's skin appears lighter and her body softer than Adam's"—an iconographic convention in numerous Adam and Eve images since the late medieval period.[24]

Dürer's mode of composition in the case of this engraving does not point to a maxim, however, according to which female nudes generally were conceived in relation to men. This method was simply one among several Dürer deployed. In his published contributions toward and fragments of a theory of human proportions (whose beginnings accompany the making of our and other images), the artist discusses the "measurements" of men and women, as well as those of children and horses, separately. The evidence we have of practical experiments also points to the fact that the artist "measured" both men and women.[25] That Dürer occasionally prioritized the figure of man in studies and designs of human figures, as seems to be the case with *Adam and Eve*, owes, among other things, something to the example of Vitruvius, whose male

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wie späterer solcher Figuren] kein entsprechendes weibliches Äquivalent—wie beim späteren Adam-und-Eva-Stich—, sondern eine Kontrastfigur zugeordnet ist: sitzend (statt stehend), rücklings (statt frontal), passiv (statt aktiv)—von betont weiblicher Morphologie gegenüber stilisierter Männlichkeit." For other preparatory drawings, see also Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 254 (no. 63–65).

23 Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent* (New York: 1988); Rüdiger Schnell, "Die Frau als Gefährtin (*socia*) des Mannes: Eine Studie zur Interdependenz von Textsorte, Adressat und Aussage," in *Geschlechterbeziehungen und Textfunktionen: Studien zu Eheschriften der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. R. Schnell (Tübingen: 1998), 119–70.

24 Martin Sonnabend, ed., *Albrecht Dürer: Die Druckgraphiken im Städel Museum* (Frankfurt: 2007), 106–7 (no. 45); Simons, *The Sex of Men*, 127–28. Simons refers the different hues to notions current at the time among experts in humoral medicine who cast men as the warmer sex.

25 See Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser, eds., *The Early Dürer* (Nuremberg: 2012), 377 (no. 77).

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ideal had no female equivalent.[26] In addition, there also may have been practical issues such as the fact that few women were ready to serve as live models.[27]

Albertus Dvrer Noricvs Faciebat AD 1504 ("Albrecht Dürer of Nuremburg made [this] in the year of the Lord 1504") reads the inscription on the image. The text on a tablet appears in a font reminiscent of Roman antiquity. It is the most elaborate inscription on an engraving by the artist. Through the text's positioning in the image Dürer assigns his own creation to Adam's sphere. As Berthold Hinz aptly puts it, "it is difficult to interpret this as anything other than a personal manifesto on the part of the creator (and man)."[28] What is more, by doing so, he projected his personhood into the drama of the Fall and the history of salvation that the expulsion from Paradise set into motion. Adam's exemplarity for other men is thus figured through a human paragon, that of the male artist. He serves as a model for the viewer in relating himself to this key event in the history of mankind. In other words, through Dürer the artist, the figure of Adam may be said to hold up a mirror, so to speak, to the (male) viewer.

Wolfgang Schmale discusses the Adams portrayed by Tilmann Riemenschneider, Dürer, Lucas Cranach, and others as exemplifications for a new type of image, that of the fair man.[29] The notion of the *pulchritudo Dei*, the beauty of God, can be traced back to the Book of Psalms: "You are the fairest of the sons of men" (Ps 45:2). In fact, Dürer refers to this verse in one of his writings. In a draft by his own hand, probably from 1512/13—that is, years after our engraving—he speaks of "Christ the Lord, who is the most beautiful in the world."[30] I would argue that the point of the engraving is not exclusively our forefather's striking *pulchritudo*. Instead, it illustrates that we, as Adam's

26 With regard to the preparatory drawing in the Albertina, Berthold Hinz characterizes the Eve-figure (date is debated) as "the most extreme regression into femininity as conventionally represented" (Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 259 (cat. 66–7)).

27 See David Hotchkiss Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor: 2003), 68, 75–78; Ilse Hammerschmied, *Albrecht Dürers kunsttheoretische Schriften* (Vienna: 2007).

28 Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 236. See also Corine Schleif, "Albrecht Dürer between Agnes Frey and Willibald Pirckheimer," in *The Essential Dürer*, eds. Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: 2010), 186–205, here 204.

29 Schmale, *Geschichte*, 20–31.

30 Albrecht Dürer, "Entwürfe zur Einleitung in das Lehrbuch der Malerei und in die Lehre von menschlicher Proportion (Nr. 2)," in *Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlass* (hereafter as *Schriflicher Nachlass*), ed. Hans Rupprich, 3 vols. (Berlin: 1956–69), vol. 2, 104. The editor, Hans Rupprich, rightly alerts readers to the fact that the notion of Christ's beauty competed with the notion expressed in Isaiah 53:2—"he had no form or comeliness that we should look at him, and no beauty that we should desire him"—adding that the notion of God's beauty predominated at the time (*Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 2, 104n5).

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descendants, are removed from his and his companion's physical beauty. The image's background reminds us of the imminent *peripeteia*. In the carefully composed scenery, Dürer contours the impending consequences of the Fall. Living creatures will soon be each other's enemies. Labor, hardship, aggression, and death will enter the world. Our ur-great-grandparents were originally close to God; now, their separation and distance from God is at hand. Ultimately, this catastrophe will affect everyone. Man's fall from God's grace will even alter our physique. As human bodies marked, if not scarred, by Original Sin, they irrevocably bear the imprint of this cataclysmic turning point. Following St. Augustine's example, theologians have not tired of casting our existence as decidedly non-Edenic.[31]

Having lost our original habitat, paradise, we can approximate the beauty of male (and female) bodies in the image of God only through arduous efforts. Dürer proposes to reconstruct paradisiacal humanity by means of geometrical operations. In the medieval and early modern period, geometry was conceived of as a discipline with a particular affinity to the order of the universe. The divine Creator as *artifex* or maker had ordained the world in all its shapes and measurements. As a result, no single authentic body can serve the artist as a model for humans. In this vein, Dürer conceived bodily ideals out of individual bodies in an elaborate, open-ended, and systematic process of construction. Dürer's experiments in human proportion demonstrate just that; our engraving counts among the earliest images in his oeuvre that testify to his interest in well-measured humanity.

In the case of the *Adam and Eve* print, the distance that ineluctably removes us from the biblical Adam's manliness before the Fall is made visually resonant through recourse to the standard of ancient art. Today's audiences may well be more familiar with the classical or neoclassical idiom of representation than sixteenth-century viewers were. To them, Adam's chiseled nudity must have appeared somewhat alien. Fittingly, Dürer let it be known in one of his writings, "[b]eauty—what that is, I don't know, despite the fact that it resides in many things."[32] Humans' familiarity with beauty is partial, incomplete, and imperfect. God alone, it is suggested, can know what beauty truly is.

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31 Peter Brown, *Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: 1988), 387–427; Klaus Schreiner, "'*Si homo non pecasset …*': Der Sündenfall Adams und Evas in seiner Bedeutung für die soziale und seelische Verfasstheit des Menschen," in *Gepeinigt, begehrt, vergessen: Symbolik und Sozialbezug des Körpers im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Klaus Schreiner and Norbert Schnitzler (Munich: 1992), 41–84.

32 Albrecht Dürer, "Entwürfe zur Einleitung in das Lehrbuch der Malerei und in die Lehre von menschlicher Proportion," in *Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 2:120; Dürer, "Der grosse

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As in *Adam and Eve*, much of his oeuvre reflects a preoccupation with the history of salvation. Famously, the self-portrait from the year 1500 forges the artist's frontal upper body in a visual dialogue with God's humanity: a painted, geometrically constructed *imitatio Christi*, as spiritual guides advocated it in writing at the time as a model for all believers.[33] Not accidentally, the panel was painted at the very age, thirty years, when the messiah was said to have taken up his calling. Different from this self-portrait or the *Adam and Eve* print, other pieces testifying to Dürer's *imitatio Christi* focus on sick, decaying, suffering, and pained bodies—his own as well as that of others.[34] In the paired charcoal drawings of 1503, for instance, whose existence is the result of an unspecified sickness by the artist, the heads of the two men are disfigured by pain. One sheet of the two shows Christ with a crown of thorns bearing the inscription: "These two faces I made for you … during my sickness" (*Die 2 angsicht hab ich uch erl … [?] gemacht in meiner kranckheit*).[35] The later drawings of Dürer as a sick man, or the *Self-Portrait as Man of Sorrows*, makes this fellowship with Christ, the Christ of the Passion, inescapable.[36] In other words, salvation history allowed for what Joseph Leo Koerner called "the transumption of the religious by the personal."[37] Though a backdrop to these images of suffering, the fair, idealized man was at a remove from our daily experience. In other words, considerable artistic efforts were necessary to overcome our present state and create impressions of man's original fairness.

ästhetische Exkurs am Ende des Dritten Buchs [1528]," in *Schriftlicher Nachlass* vol. 3, 290–99, here 293.

33 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 1993), 3–246; Dieter Wuttke, "Dürer und Celtis: Von der Bedeutung des Jahers 1500 für den deutschen Humanismus," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980): 73–129. For a recent article, arguing against this approach, see Margaret A. Sullivan, "Alter Apelles: Dürer's 1500 Self-Portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly* 68 (2015): 1161–91.

34 Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 239–46; Helmut Puff, "Memento Mori, Memento Mei: Albrecht Dürer and the Art of Dying," in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Leiden: 2010), 103–32.

35 Despite the fact that the handwritten letters are legible, the word that ends with an abbreviation remains indecipherable as a whole, despite several proposals of how to render it. Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer*, 146–47 (nos. 81–82); Eser and Hess, *The Early Dürer*, 532 (cat. 190–91).

36 Koerner, *The Moment*, 176–83; Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 232–33 (no. 53). Like with the aforementioned *Head of the Dead Christ*, an inscription explicates the personal context without specifying the disease while Dürer's hand gesture and the sheet's iconography connect this self-representation with images of Christ.

37 Koerner, *The Moment*, 220.

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2 Mercenary Men

Dürer's inscription on the 1504 engraving offers a prominent example of how artists inserted themselves into their pictorial inventions. The practice of connecting the image with its maker gained prominence in the fifteenth century. There are numerous frames of reference for this development other than the aforementioned imitation of Christ. In an era when cult images "fell from favor," Hans Belting argues that images "began to be justified as works of art."[38] Through traces of the artist's self, the viewer's attention is drawn to his "power" or "authority" (*Gewalt*), as Dürer once called the impact of the creations by a great artist.[39] Significantly, their ingenious play with mimesis and similar pictorial strategies solicits the viewer's sustained attention to what is on view. It is as if Renaissance image makers such as Dürer breathed life into their artworks. Linking images and their authors amplifies the potential effects of images. After all, artists vied for attention among patrons, aficionados, and experts. This small yet growing group of cognoscenti valued the virtuosity of image makers. They came to know the artists' names as well as the facture of their imagery. Like Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, Hans Beham, Urs Graf, and Niklaus Manuel, to name but a few, injected traces of their artistic selves on the images they disseminated.[40]

Visual representations of soldiers count among the most striking images of manhood from the sixteenth century.[41] It is no accident that this visual archive is well researched.[42] As critics have shown, these figures' representations

38 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: 1994), 470.

39 Albrecht Dürer, "Der grosse ästhetische Exkurs," in *Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 3, 291, 293, 297. Joachim Camerarius, who translated the excursus into Latin, renders the term as *potentia* (*Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 3, 300–6, here 305).

40 Susan Marti, ed., *Söldner, Bilderstürmer, Totentänzer: Mit Niklaus Manuel durch die Zeit der Reformation* (Bern: 2016).

41 Regarding Dürer's representations of mercenaries, see Colin T. Eisler, "Who Is Dürer's 'Syphilitic Man'?," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 52 (2009): 48–60; Gerhard Brunner, ed., *Dürer—Holbein—Grünewald: Meisterzeichnungen der deutschen Renaissance aus Berlin und Basel* (Basel: 1997), 94–5 (no. 10.2).

42 Rainer Wohlfeil and Trudl Wohlfeil, "Das Landsknechts-Bild als geschichtliche Quelle: Überlegungen zur historischen Bildkunde," in *Militärgeschichte: Probleme—Thesen—Wege*, ed. Manfred Messerschmidt (Stuttgart: 1982), 81–99; Matthias Rogg, "'Wol auff mit mir, du schoenes weyb': Anmerkungen zur Konstruktion von Männlichkeit im Soldatenbild des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel*, eds. Karen Hagenmann and Ralf Pröve (Frankfurt: 1998), 51–73; Matthias Rogg, *Landsknechte und Reisläufer: Bilder vom Soldaten: Ein Stand in der Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: 2002); Ulinka

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oscillate between celebrating erotically charged hyper-masculinity on the one hand and shedding critical light on the figure of the mercenary as aggressor on the other. Few artists have visualized so pointedly the multiple registers of man's military prowess and erotic or domestic entanglements as Urs Graf (*c.*1485–1527/29)—the goldsmith, spouse, and soldier who repeatedly came into conflict with the law.[43] In contrast to most of his book illustrations, Graf's drawings and single-leaf prints incorporate elements that are at a distance from paradise: violence, death, and eros are the recurrent themes in his oeuvre.[44] A biographical nexus for Graf's artistic endeavors is undeniable, but through the personal, his images also access what is typical.

Recent research has shed light on the riddles in Graf's visual language, with its rich treasure trove of symbols, obscure attributes, and at times opaque inscriptions. In this context, a new orthodoxy has taken hold. Critics have persistently emphasized the Swiss mercenary (with a Swiss cross) and the German Landsknecht (mercenaries) or lansquenet (with the cross of St. Andrew) in his and other artists' oeuvres as antipodes. Although one cannot overlook the ridicule heaped on Germans as dishonorable, vice-prone, and hedonistic, both of these military figures, often found on opposing sides in political conflicts, also transcended these differences, as we will see.[45]

We can get a glimpse of traits these soldiers shared in a print of 1524, which Christian Müller argues that scholars have characterized "rightly" as a "masterful woodcut" (Fig. 13.2).[46] Here, the two male figures stand next to each other in their customary attire, the lansquenet in the center and on his right the mercenary; the woman, whose lapdog can be interpreted as a sign of sexual lust, is set apart and seated. Death, who is enthroned above the three in a desiccated

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Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: 2010), 138–45; Matthias Rogg and Jutta Nowosadtko, eds., *"Mars und die Musen": Das Wechselspiel von Militär, Krieg und Kunst in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: 2008); Jan Willem Huntebrinker, *'Fromme Knechte' und 'Garteteufel': Söldner als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Constance: 2010), 14–34.

43 For critics' comments on Graf's gender performance, see Wilhelm Worringer, *Urs Graf: Die Holzschnitte zur Passion: Mit einer Einführung* (Munich: 1923), 18; Walter Lüthi, *Urs Graf und die Kunst der alten Schweizer* (Zurich: 1928), 5, 12, 38, 87–90; Emil Major and Erwin Gradmann, *Vrs Graf* (London: 1947), 5; Margarete Pfister-Burkhalter, ed., *Urs Graf, Federzeichnungen* (Wiesbaden: 1958), 2, 4 [unpaginated].

44 See Lüthi, *Urs Graf*; Emil Major, *Urs Graf: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst im 16. Jahrhundert* (Strasbourg: 1907).

45 See Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: 1989), 87; Rogg, "Anmerkungen zur Konstruktion von Männlichkeit," 66.

46 Christian Müller, ed., *Urs Graf: Die Zeichnungen im Kupferstichkabinett Basel* (Basel: 2001), 291 (no. 15).

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FIGURE 13.2 Urs Graf, *Two Mercenary Soldiers Approach a Seated Prostitute While Death Sits in a Tree, Pointing to an Hourglass*, woodcut, 1524, 200 × 116 mm, Wellcome Library, London, V0042062

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treetop, is outside their field of vision. As a result, the beholder knows more than the figures within the image. Only they suspect the fate of the figures represented. Yet Graf does not exclude himself from the erotic scenario or the risk of impending death. His monogram with its Swiss dagger, similar to that of the depicted mercenary, appears underneath Death (and above the lansquenet).

As with this woodcut, group pictures of infantrymen from enemy camps are common in Graf's imagery. Such images are conspicuous, among other things, in that he seldom features female ensembles.[47] Women surface in his oeuvre primarily as solitary figures or in man-woman constellations. By contrast, Dürer had conceived striking pictorial inventions such as the "Four Witches" or "Women's Bath." There, men are relegated to the periphery or entirely absent whereas several women occupy the center.[48] By comparison, Graf only rarely depicts more than one woman, and men are often rendered in groups. What is more, where a single man confronts the other sex, masculinity is often portrayed as endangered. For Graf's military men, risks loom in interactions between the sexes.[49] As a result, the exemplary and honorable Swiss mercenary is not consistently contrasted with the misguided, derided, or condemned existence of the lansquenet.

Visual satire that involved the artist's self is also manifest in an enigmatic drawing of 1514 in which a lansquenet shoulders a pole, somewhat reminiscent of a halberd, laden with objects, animals, and the like (Fig. 13.3).[50] The image's strangeness may well issue a call to the viewer to decode what we see.[51] According to Christiane Andersson, these emblems must be read as follows: the hedgehog signifies drunkenness, and the glasses gesture to the man's sexual lust (as made evident in other drawings by the artist). On the pole's other end, one finds symbols of femininity and sexuality, such as a distaff, a mouse (referring to female genitalia), and a bird as a sign of sexual intercourse. Within the contemporary horizon, the empty salt box depicted can be associated with

47 Müller, *Urs Graf*, 78, 147, 217–18, 223–24 (nos. 5, 60, 113, 117): "Acht Krieger und ein Reiter in Landschaft"; "Versammlung von Reisläufern, 1515"; "Anwerbung eines Landsknechts im Zunftsaal"; and "Zwei Eidgenossen und zwei Landsknechte blasen die Querpfeife, 1523." See, however, "Frau mit fünf Kindern und Putto, 1514" (129–30, no. 45).

48 Sander, *Dürer*, 270–73 (cat. 10.9–10.11); Schröder and Sternath, *Albrecht Dürer*, 238–41 (no. 55–6); Helmut Puff, "Homosociabilities in Renaissance Nuremberg," in *The Cultural History of Sexuality in the Renaissance*, ed. Bette Talvacchia (New York: 2011), 51–72, 208–16.

49 For a rare counter-example, see Müller, *Urs Graf*, 207–8 (no. 105): "Zwei Dirnen überfallen einen Mönch, 1521."

50 Müller, *Urs Graf*, 137 (no. 52).

51 Franz Bächtiger, "Andreaskreuz und Schweizerkreuz: Zur Feindschaft zwischen Landsknechten und Eidgenossen," *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* (1971/1972): 205–70.

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FIGURE 13.3 Urs Graf, *Satire on the Vices of Lansquenets*, drawing, *c.*1514, 212 × 254 mm, Kunstmuseum Basel—Kupferstichkabinett—Amerbach-Kabinett, Inv. U.X. 107
COURTESY OF KUNSTMUSEUM BASEL, PHOTO MARTIN P. BÜHLE

man's lost virility or power; the owl possibly emits cries of warning or doom ("ie, ie"—as the bird's sound is literally rendered on the image). Tellingly, in the composition, the hat's exaggerated plume impairs the soldier's gaze. Furthermore, with all the things and creatures lined up, the pole can barely be used as a weapon; the soldier's dagger is out of reach. It is therefore likely that this lansquenet is ridiculed as someone who has succumbed to the charms of the other sex. He appears henpecked, so to speak.[52]

At the same time, amidst all this mockery of the German soldier, one must not overlook how intimately Graf's signet is interwoven with the drawing's composition. This is evident from the positioning of his monogram next to the lansquenet. Its florid ductus also mirrors the ribbons upon which the

52 Christiane Andersson, *Dirnen—Krieger—Narren: Ausgewählte Zeichnungen von Urs Graf* (Basel: 1978), 41–42 (no. 29).

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FIGURE 13.4 Urs Graf, *Flagellation of Christ*, 1520, drawing, 188 × 208 mm, Kunstmuseum Basel—Kupferstichkabinett—Amerbach-Kabinett, Inv. U.X.98
COURTESY OF KUNSTMUSEUM BASEL, PHOTO MARTIN P. BÜHLER

attributes mentioned above hang. The salvo directed at the lansquenet concerns the Swiss mercenary and artist as well, one may infer.

Such an inclusive reading is apposite also with regard to one of the most unconventional images in Graf's unconventional oeuvre, a drawing of the flagellation of Christ from the year 1520 (Fig. 13.4).[53] The *imitatio Christi*, as evident in many of Dürer's works, has given way to the *imitatio* of the henchmen: the

53 A comparison to the flagellation from the woodcuts of the passion cycles from 1506 and 1511 is instructive in this regard. See Walter L. Strauss, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 13 [formerly vol. 7 (part 4)] (New York: 1981), 63, 73. In addition, see also Worringer, *Urs Graf*, 5; Lüthi, *Urs Graf*, 45–64; Hans Koegler, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Basler Handzeichnungen des Urs Graf: Nebst einem Katalog der Basler Urs Graf-Ausstellung* (Basel: 1926), 58 (no. 88); Pfister-Burkhalter, *Urs Graf*, 3.

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artist places himself among Christ's tormentors.[54] It requires effort on the part of the viewer to even locate Christ in the crowd of his torturers, who seem to continue to flail at his collapsed body. "Their hairstyle and head coverings call to memory depictions of both lansquenets *and* Swiss mercenaries," as Christian Müller observes.[55] One of the flagellants has a Swiss knife on his belt, not unlike the dagger in the artist's monogram. Its visual echo can be seen in the foreground, as if Graf wanted to underline the personal register of the scene. At any rate, the drawing's "almost ecstatic dash" forges connections between Graf's monogram, on the one hand, and the rods and whips of the flagellants on the other.[56] This scene from the Passion is an exemplum "of human aggression" committed by soldiers, and the artist classes himself with this group.[57]

Müller, the foremost expert of Graf's art, has warned against viewing depictions such as the flagellation or the shocking "Battlefield of Marignano" (1521) as a critique of violence.[58] Instead, the artist, he argues, foregrounds "the experience of violence." Put differently, Müller finds that violence, "which he [Graf] himself enacted," deeply "fascinated" the artist.[59] By this time, the social and human costs of warfare had long become obvious. The heated discussions about Swiss military campaigns within the Confederacy are not external to the artist's work; rather, they run right through many of his pictorial inventions, giving his visual representations of soldiers their edge.

In subsequent decades, the Swiss mercenary figure gained in symbolic presence at precisely a moment when his actual significance in military conflicts began to fade in the wake of the Italian wars. In that regard, the disastrous losses that Swiss forces incurred in the Battle of Marignano from the French army under King Francis I (1515), reinforced by lansquenets, constituted a turning-point for contemporary observers. Even though political measures sought to countenance the drain on human life in the confederacy, the Swiss mercenary was not laid to rest; rather, the figure was increasingly mobilized for new purposes. Depictions of standard-bearers or Swiss mercenaries in the later decades of the sixteenth century perpetuate the paeans to military prowess while they also partake of a domestication of the martial. This is attested to by the *Standesscheiben*, or glass paintings, that often adorned public spaces

54 Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 63–223.
55 Müller, *Urs Graf*, 187 (my emphasis).
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., 187–88.
58 Ibid., 215–16 (no. 112).
59 Ibid., 187–88.

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and assembly halls.[60] Gregor Sickinger's print, to pick an example, historicizes the heroic masculinity of a monumentally rendered soldier from the canton of Schwyz, reminding viewers of past military triumphs in little vignettes.[61]

In a similar vein, Swiss chroniclers memorialized the mercenary experience.[62] In the 1530s, the Reformer Werner Steiner (1492–1541) compiled an extensive collection of Swiss military songs, a chronicle of military conflicts through the medium of *lieder*. According to Steiner, he recorded and collected the songs "not so they would be sung but because in these songs the [historic] events are rendered summarily, repeatedly, and in a most concise fashion."[63] His anthology can thus be interpreted as a swan song for the times of Swiss military triumphs from the fourteenth century on to when Steiner witnessed Swiss warfare on Italian soil first hand.[64] He understood his own times as the end of an era and the dawn of a new one, a past he intended to commemorate through this work and a transformation he sought to help bring about. Remediation assisted his efforts in distancing military existence from the present, even though the "mercenary business" persisted throughout the sixteenth century, placing it in the past instead. Songs that once bound together their singers as warriors thus metamorphosed into reading material, a historical record for the imaginary collective of the confederacy. As the author affirms in the short preface to his chronicle, "the knowledge of things past [is] good and useful, particularly since with regard to what will happen we receive from them warnings, instruction, and consolation."[65] These and similar projects therefore celebrated military masculinity while historicizing it. Holding aggressive

60 Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein* (Los Angeles: 2000); Conrad de Mandach, *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch* (Basel: 1940), ills. 64, 65, 68, 78 , 96, 102, 118, 119.

61 Johannes Mangei, *Die Freiburg-Ansichten des Gregorius Sickinger von 1589: Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 2003), ill. 23.

62 See Peter Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Sozialgeschichtliche Studien* (Göttingen: 1994); Michael Sikora, "Söldner—historische Annäherung an einen Kriegertypus," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 29 (2003): 210–38 (with more references); Huntebrinker, *Söldner als soziale Gruppe*.

63 Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms A 158, 1r–v. On Steiner see Helmut Puff, "The Reform of Masculinity, a Case Study," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, eds. Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Scott H. Hendrix (Kirksville: 2008), 21–44; Christian Moser, "Werner Steiner," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (2012), http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10858.php.

64 Jean-Pierre Bodmer, "Werner Steiner und die Schlacht bei Marignano," in *Aus Zürichs Bibliotheksgeschichte: Beiträge von 1964 bis 2007* (Zurich: 2008), 15–24.

65 Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms 1 158, 1.

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masculinity in check—something many Reformers like Steiner advocated—apparently included remembered aggression as a strategy.[66]

3 Furnished Masculinity

The fascination with the charged masculinity of soldiers was not exclusively a Swiss phenomenon, even though the figure of the mercenary remained particularly salient in the case of a political entity whose meteoric rise was predicated, above all, on military might.[67] This is also evident in a piece of furniture from the sixteenth century.[68]

The so-called *Wrangelschrank* of 1566, likely produced in the city of Augsburg, counts among the most famous cabinets in the history of furniture-making (Figs. 13.5 and 13.6).[69] Named after the seventeenth-century Swedish military leader Karl Gustav, Count Wrangel, a previous owner of the piece if oral tradition can be trusted, this rectangular wooden chest is nothing if not a captivating object. Its external surfaces are entirely covered in, if not consumed by, inlays and intarsia.[70] At least seventeen kinds of wood foster the illusionism of what we see. A confusing and chaotic world engulfs its outer body as if to dissolve the piece's boxy material presence into expansive scenes that are deep, intricate, and detailed. Though settlements can be made out on the

66 Helmut Puff, "Die Geschichte der Reformation als Geschichte der Maskulinitäten: Ein Vorschlag zur Erforschung des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *"Hör nicht auf zu singen": Zeuginnen der Schweizer Reformation*, eds. Rebecca Giselbrecht and Sabine Scheuter (Zurich: 2016), 204–36. See also Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 143–44.

67 Burton L. Dunbar, Robert Munman, and Edward J. Olszewski, *A Corpus of Drawings in Midwestern Collections: Sixteenth-Century Northern European Drawings* (Turnhout: 2012), 124–25, 130–31, 154 (no. 77; attributed to Heinrich Aldegrever; no. 80, Jost Amman; no. 93, Anonymus). See also Matthias Rogg, "Gottlose Kriegsleute? Zur bildlichen Darstellung von Söldnern des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld von Lebenswirklichkeit, öffentlicher Meinung und konfessioneller Bildpropaganda," in *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Michael Kaiser and Stefan Kroll (Münster: 2004), 121–44.

68 Simons, *The Sex of Men*. In connecting material and gender histories, I follow the example of Patricia Simons who recently made a case for marshalling material objects for a history of early modern masculinity.

69 On the *Wrangelschrank*, see Lieselotte Möller, *Der Wrangelschrank und die verwandten süddeutschen Intarsienmöbel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1956); Géza Jászai, *Der Wrangel-Schrank: Ein süddeutscher Kabinettschrank mit ornamenta triumphalis aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster: 1984); Christopher S. Wood, "The Perspective Treatise in Ruin: *Lorenz Stoer, Geometria te Perspectiva, 1567*," *Studies in the History of Art* 59 (2003): 235–58, here 238–47; Angelika Lorenz, *Der Wrangelschrank neu gesehen* (Münster: 2011).

70 For using and displaying the cabinet, it would have been set on a table since legs are not part of its material body, something that was common at the time.

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FIGURES 13.5 AND 13.6 Meister mit der Hausmarke, "Wrangelschrank," Augsburg 1566, 70 × 100 × 47 cm, front (half-open) and back, (LWL-Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Inv.Nr. K-605 LM)
COURTESY OF LWL-LMKUK, PHOTO HANNA NEANDER

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horizon of the ruinscape depicted, no human figures, only putti, enliven the scenery with its debris and strewn objects. The sole exception is a lansquenet (to whom we will return). Only apes, horses, insects, birds—including one of the early European representations of a turkey—populate this *Weltlandschaft*. At the same time, isolated torsos and armor clearly expose what we see as having a connection to human deeds.

It is likely that this cabinet with its many compartments served as a repository for coins, gems, and similar such objects. If this is indeed the case, the *Wrangelschrank* is the oldest surviving *Kunstschrank*, a material container for small and precious things. Nothing is known about the person or persons who commissioned the piece, let alone the collection for which it was supposed to serve as a vessel. Given the object's intricacy on many accounts, including its multi-level production—it evidently is the work of a team of artisans, artists, designers, and one or several conceptors—a commission is likely. Needless to say, with few exceptions, collectors of this quality and the manufacturers they worked with were men.

In an excellent monograph on this cabinet, Lieselotte Möller interprets this *Kunstschrank*'s pictorial program as emblematic of transience: "Everything in nature must perish. Man-made things, created out of natural components, are reconquered by nature. Human art remains subject to nature's laws. Nature ruins man's work, turning it into ruins."[71] Reducing the iconographic program to the motif of *vanitas* diminishes, however, the chest's qualities as a moveable, quasi-cinematic object in motion.

Importantly, if we open its doors, what we see is radically different from what can be appreciated on the outer surface. Reliefs show battles as chronicled in Livy's history of Rome, coin-like medallions portray famous men, tiny knobs with sculpted heads open drawers and little plaques with Latin inscriptions anchor the eight events rendered in the chronicled Roman past. These sculpted but monochrome scenes, portraits, and components exist in tension with the cabinet's flat, multi-colored exterior. The viewer is settled with the task of having to contend with this conundrum. If one opens some of the drawers, the design of the compartments accentuates this tension; again, we glance at destitution. How can we grasp the connections between ruinscape and warfare?

Arguably, the lone soldier serves as a connector. His imposing figure rises from a floor with a vanishing point, as if the cavernous recess where he stands reaches deep into the chest, linking the desolation visible on the exterior with the interior. As long as the cabinet is locked, this venerable antiquity remains

71 Möller, *Wrangelschrank*, 43n3.

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out of reach.[72] In this sense the soldier, in guise contemporary to the making of the *Schrank*, is a liminal figure. He is positioned between an all-consuming present and a past with its well-defined historic events. Put differently, the lansquenet elevates the interior, with its depiction of military conflicts, to something to be guarded, if not treasured. Thus viewed, the *Wrangelschrank* resembles a shrine to a heroic past. If this is the case, military masculinity in all its glories can be appreciated only as an inner sanctum. All that remains are traces, debris, and wreckage. If we were able to hold the objects once possibly contained within this wooden vessel, we would touch the memorable relics of this same past.

What makes images and objects compelling in cultural analysis is, among other things, that they force us to sharpen our vision. They may not provide answers to the question at hand, namely how to relate vistas of decay and of military glory, for instance. At the same time, the strains and relations readers have encountered throughout this chapter—between order and its opposites as well as between masculine military might and violence, to name but two—pervade the imagery on this chest. What is more, the *Wrangelschrank* allows us to experience such tensions in multiple dimensions. Seeing this cabinet as an object in motion therefore adds a new urgency to our viewing. In addition, there is the temporal dimension. The *Wrangelschrank* may also be understood as a heterochronous object.[73] The artefact was made in the past and connects us to a more remote past, but it also exists in the present where the question this object sharpens continues to resonate. Several temporal registers are at stake simultaneously. Importantly, these relations are not anchored in the unidirectional temporality of historicism with its clear-cut chronology; rather, they touch upon each other, and military manhood stands at the center of its layered timescape.

72 Since 2014, the LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur in Münster where the Wrangelschrank is on display also owns a small wooden coffer, commissioned on the occasion of a wedding, with a remarkable iconography. Like the former object, the pictorial inlays juxtapose a Last Judgement on the outside with a frivolous scene of a monk thrashing a nun's posterior on the inside (Representative Coffer Owned by von Adelsheim and Landschad von Steinach Families, 1597; Inv.-Nr. K-1296 LM).

73 Keith Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Durham: 2013), 23 and passim. See also Georges Didi Huberman, "Before the Image, Before Time: The Sovereignty of Anachronism," trans. Peter Mason, in *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, eds. Claire Farrago and Robert Zwijnenberg (Minneapolis: 2003), 31–44; Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, "Plural Temporality," in *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: 2010), 7–19.

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4 Conclusion

My proposal is to not gloss over the ruptures in representations of sixteenth-century masculinity. Rather, the moment has come to harness visual and temporal complexities for a history of masculinity in the Reformation era. Precisely these tensions prove to be one of the motors in inculcating visions of controlled masculinity among viewers: Adam's fairness was palpable yet hardly within reach, sixteenth-century soldiers led a conflictual existence, and the glories of military masculinity were often safely locked away in the past. These glimpses from the sixteenth-century visual archive rub against notions of a straightforward military masculinity as hegemonic. Saying so, however, does not remove men and masculinities from the realm of patriarchy and politics, quite the contrary. As we have seen, visual representations are at the heart of efforts to consolidate the rule of men in this era.

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CHAPTER 14

'One Must Speak the Truth Rather than Staying Silent': Women, Scandal, and the Genevan Consistory

Karen E. Spierling

In the fall of 1560, Jaquette Pierre, a Genevan widow, appeared at the home of Marguerite Barrault, angry with Marguerite for testifying on behalf of Jaquette's stepchildren in a civil case that had come before the city council. As Marguerite later recounted to the Genevan consistory, Jaquette first accused her of giving testimony about things she did not know about. Then Jaquette pulled out a copy of the New Testament and called Marguerite's attention to a passage that stated that it was "evil to scandalize one's neighbor," as she believed Marguerite had done by sharing inaccurate information about Jaquette with the consistory.[1]

This remarkable case, explored fully below, provides a window into Genevan women's interaction with Reformed ideas. Who would guess from traditional Genevan Reformation narratives that *women* might seek to resolve—or stoke—quarrels amongst themselves by not only referring to a particular scripture passage but providing physical evidence of it as well? Just as importantly for this chapter, this case demonstrates one of the varied ways that Genevans—reformers and laity alike—employed the concept of scandal (*scandale* in French) as they negotiated the shape of their newly reformed community in the mid-1500s.

This essay seeks to demonstrate the usefulness of tracing a particular concept—*scandale*—through the Genevan consistory records in order to locate conversations, debates, and negotiations that reached beyond the group of elite men who ran the city government and the church. In doing so, it builds on recent decades of scholarship by Susan Karant-Nunn and other social and cultural historians of the Reformation. At the end of her *Reformation of Ritual*, Karant-Nunn asserts that the ritual changes she has examined "must not, in the end, be dismissed as efforts by elites of church and state solely to grow

1 Archives d'État de Genève (hereafter as AEG), Registres du Consistoire (hereafter R.Consist.) 17, 170, 31 October 1560.

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in power at the masses' expense."[2] This holds true not only for rituals, but for many aspects of the Reformation, including the operations of the consistory—the body most obviously designed to assert church control over the local society. Whether scholars saw this effort to impose control in a positive or negative light, for centuries the story of the Genevan consistory was told as the narrative of reformers imposing their vision on Genevan society. The scholarship of Karant-Nunn, while focused on other regions of Europe, has offered an important path towards a more accurate and useful understanding of the consistory as a product and instrument of Genevan society more broadly.

In pursuing that path, this chapter first provides a brief overview of relevant scholarship on Reformation Geneva to demonstrate how scholars' assumptions about the meaning of *scandal* have obscured our understanding of Reformation dynamics, and especially women's participation. The discussion then moves to a close examination of several cases in which we find Genevan women accusing other women of creating scandal in the community. In such situations, when Genevan women applied the label *scandalous* (or *scandalize*, or simply *scandal*) to particular words or behavior, they were actively participating in defining the Reformed community. Whether by accusing someone of creating scandal or refuting the accusation about themselves, these women were discussing and debating the acceptable moral and social standards of their community.

We also see this, of course, when women called before the consistory accused the ministers—and sometimes Calvin specifically—of scandalizing Genevans with *their* behavior or their teachings.[3] Such examples of women confronting male authorities stand out in the consistory records, partly because the reader can almost hear the secretary's shock at hearing and recording the accusations. But if we read the consistory records closely, we can catch glimpses of women accusing one another of creating scandal and, in these instances, applying Reformed teachings and shaping Reformed culture in ways that are not perceptible in sources such as city ordinances, sermons, or polemical pamphlets written by men.

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2 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: 1997), 200.

3 For the examples of Pernette Grant and Charlotte de Pynon, see Karen Spierling, "'Il faut éviter le scandale': Debating Community Standards in Reformation Geneva," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 20 (2018): 51–69, here 62–64. See also the examination of the cases of Jeanne Bonna, Benoîte Jacon, and Andrée Audru in Elisabeth Wengler, "Rethinking 'Calvin's Geneva': Women, Agency, and Religious Authority in Reformation Geneva," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 35 (2007): 55–70.

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1 Scandal in the History of Reformation Geneva

The cases interrogated here contain examples of Genevan women using the word *scandale* to describe the words or actions of their Genevan neighbors, or even of themselves. Among scholars who study Reformed consistories—the morals courts of Reformed churches, staffed by church pastors and elders—scandal has come to be seen as a particularly consistorial preoccupation.[4] While it is important to recognize scandal as a consistorial category of transgression, it is equally—and potentially more—important to understand the broader context that shaped concepts of scandal. The ways that the idea of scandal operated in Geneva during the Reformation fit into a long-term development of the word in western culture, reaching back to biblical times and up to the most recent news stories about twenty-first-century politicians and clergy. Far more than only being a useful indication of the goals and operations of sixteenth-century reformed consistories, scandal—as a word and a concept—is a revealing lens through which to examine pluralities of the Reformation, as it sheds light on a variety of perspectives within a single community and can help us to understand the processes of negotiation involved in first establishing and then developing the Reformation.

Examining Genevan women's use of the concept of scandal is one productive way to leverage consistory records to address the persistent lack of significant attention to women's roles in Genevan Reformation society. In a 2011 article on women and consistories in southern France, Suzannah Lipscomb asserted that although consistory "registers have an inherent male filter," this type of court still "remains extraordinary in gathering, recording and validating female testimony."[5] And yet, while much work on Geneva and the consistory has involved women, we still do not have a fully developed discussion of what the consistory records really tell us about women's roles in Geneva, their participation in the Reformation, or their interactions with the consistory. William Monter's 1980 article on "Women in Calvinist Geneva" was groundbreaking at the time, but now, almost four decades later, it appears limited in

4 For an example of quantitative data on Genevan consistory cases including a general category of scandal, see E. William Monter, "The Consistory of Geneva 1559–1569," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976): 467–84, esp. 479–80; Scott Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536–1609* (New York: 2013), 200–209.

5 Suzannah Lipscomb, "Crossing Boundaries: Women's Gossip, Insults and Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," *French History* 25 (2011): 408–26, here 410.

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scope and interpretation.[6] Other important contributions by scholars such as Jeffrey Watt and Elisabeth Wengler are grounded in earlier interpretations of the consistory and, at least as importantly, are focused on the earliest years of the consistory's existence.[7] Wengler, for example, used three case studies from the 1540s and early 1550s to demonstrate women's religious participation in the Genevan Reformation, but even so, there is as yet no fully developed study of women's interactions with the Genevan consistory and roles in defining the Reformed community. More recent work by scholars including Watt, Christian Grosse, and William Naphy has reconsidered the role of the consistory itself, shedding light on the processes of negotiation and reconciliation that underpinned the court's work.[8] Looking at cases that involve explicit accusations of scandal by and against women allows us to build on this more recent work and to address the ongoing lacuna in our understanding of the roles of women in Reformation society.

In order to read these cases effectively, it is crucial to recognize that in the mid-sixteenth century, during the first decades of the Genevan reformation, the word *scandale* had far more varied connotations than we sometimes assume today, when scandal almost always (except in explicitly religious discussions within the Catholic Church) refers to very publicly revealed, reputation-harming actions involving either sex or money. In the sixteenth century, in contrast, *scandale* and related words had a variety of secular and religious connotations. Most of these meanings related, in one way or another, to ideas of disorder and of harm to individuals, to the community, or to both.

To begin with, the word *scandal* (*scandalum* in Latin) had a long history in theological discussions.[9] The coming of the Reformation reignited deep-seated

6 E. William Monter, "Women in Calvinist Geneva," *Signs* 6 (1980): 189–209. For discussion on Monter's influence on Reformation historians' attitudes toward scandal in Geneva, see Spierling, "'Il faut éviter le scandale'," 54–55.

7 Jeffrey R. Watt, "Women and the Consistory in Calvin's Geneva," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 429–39; Wengler, "Rethinking 'Calvin's Geneva'."

8 See, for example, William G. Naphy, "Developments in the History of Geneva Since the 1960s," in *Revisiting Geneva: Robert Kingdon and the Coming of the French Wars of Religion*, ed. Sara K. Barker (St Andrews: 2012), 85–98; Jeffrey Watt, "Settling Quarrels and Nurturing Repentance: The Consistory in Calvin's Geneva," in Barker, *Revisiting Geneva*, 71–84; Christian Grosse, "'Pour bien de paix': La régulation des conflits par les consistoires en Suisse romande (XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles)," in *Figures de la mediation et lien social*, eds. Jean-Luc Chabot, Stéphane Gal, and Christophe Tournus (Paris: 2006), 85–107.

9 For fuller discussion and sources on this history of scandal, see Antónia Szabari, "The Scandal of Religion: Luther and Public Speech in the Reformation," in *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*, eds. Hent de Vries and Lawrence Eugene Sullivan

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ecclesiastical concerns about scandal as the source of confusion among the faithful, the occasion of another person's fall from grace, or a stumbling block in someone's path toward God. Across the centuries, these written discussions and debates featured male theologians such as Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century and John Calvin in the sixteenth, and excluded women. By the Reformation era, however, Genevan laypeople, both men and women, appear to have understood and used the word *scandale* (as well as its adjective and verb forms) with both religious and more broadly social intentions, often all at the same time. As a tool for investigating *women's* experience of the Reformation and their understanding and application of Reformed teachings, the word *scandal* is especially useful precisely because of this flexibility in meaning; as opposed to words like *heresy* or *blasphemy*, *scandal* could mean multiple things even *within* the Reformed Genevan community, and even to a single individual.[10]

Despite the variety of meanings of *scandal* in the sixteenth century, the utility of the concept in revealing deeply embedded dynamics of Reformation society has been obscured since at least the nineteenth century by the ways that historians themselves have applied the word to Reformation events. One particularly striking nineteenth-century example demonstrates well how revisiting the meaning of *scandal* can help us to break from traditional ways of narrating and interpreting the Reformation story. It comes from the work of Émile Doumergue, a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century university professor and Reformed pastor, and perhaps the most prolific French historian of the Genevan Reformation. One of Doumergue's preoccupations in his thousands of pages of writing on John Calvin and the Reformation was the question of why Calvin and his colleagues did not fully succeed. Why had Geneva not become and continued to be a strictly, purely Reformed society, according to Calvin's vision? In his seven-volume magnum opus, *Jean Calvin, Les Hommes*

(New York: 2006), 122–36, esp. 128–30; Lindsay Bryan, "'*Vae Mundo a Scandalis*': The Sin of Scandal in Medieval England" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1998). For a more complete listing of sources, see Spierling, "'Il faut éviter le scandale'," 52–53.

10 Beat Hodler, "Le 'scandale' dans les actes des synods," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (1993): 597–604. As Hodler has observed, "Scandal was not a crime like theft or lying, because [the word] *scandale* designated, rather, a circumstance that might apply to any crime" (600). The discussion in this essay is one piece of a larger project in which I am exploring the ways that reformers, city authorities, and individual Genevans all used the concept of *scandal* to negotiate and define the shape of Reformed society, the responsibilities of Reformed Christians, and the ways that more strictly religious and more traditionally social concerns might contradict or reinforce one another.

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et Les Choses de Son Temps, Doumergue's answer seems to be that the people of Geneva were not yet civilized enough to fully absorb Reformed teachings.[11]

For Doumergue, one clear demonstration of the primitive nature of sixteenth-century Genevans was their handling of the plague, an example which illustrates perfectly the problems historians have created by misunderstanding the significance of the word *scandal* in the sixteenth century. In describing what he saw as the city's complete failure to face the threat of an outbreak of the plague in 1529, Doumergue wrote: "The ordinance of 1529 is curious to read due to the rude nature of its Latin. To begin with, the title: 5 August 1529. *Scandallum pestis*. The plague, a scandal! A little girl who was sick is now dead."[12] Doumergue apparently read this entry to mean that rather than being grieved at the death of a child, the city authorities were somehow embarrassed by this plague outbreak; it offended their sensibilities, a common nineteenth-century meaning of scandal. Had he been listening more carefully with an ear toward sixteenth-century connotations, he would have recognized that in the city council records, *scandallum* often meant physical danger or harm, such as the threat posed by bridges that were not repaired or the failure to take steps to prevent fires.[13] These were potential disasters that could cause damage to the infrastructure of the city as well as physical harm to its inhabitants.

In other words, when the secretary of the city council noted that the topic of discussion was "the plague scandal," he was not indicating that the council thought that the plague was an embarrassment to their city. Instead, the label recognized that plague as a dangerous threat. Even if they did not have late nineteenth-century medical knowledge regarding the spread of bacteria, the sixteenth-century Genevan city council recognized the plague as a mortal threat and knew that it was their responsibility to try to protect their city and its inhabitants.

While the extremely pro-Calvin or anti-Calvin views and confessional biases of Doumergue and other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars have been heavily critiqued by modern historians, their detailed writings still

11 Émile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin: Les hommes et les choses de son temps*, 7 vols (Lausanne: 1899–1927).

12 "L'ordonnance de 1529 est curieuse à lire dans toute la naïveté de son texte latin. D'abort le titre: 5 août 1529. *Scandallum pestis*. La peste, une scandale! Une petite fille a été malade, est morte." Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, 3: 141. All translations from French texts are mine unless otherwise noted.

13 Space does not permit full discussion of this here, but see, for example: AEG, Registres du Conseil (hereafter RC) pub 3, 325 and 326 (AEG, RC 10, f. 66, 6 April 1484); AEG, RC pub 5, 126–27 (RC 13, 89, 2 July 1493); AEG, RC pub., 231, 20 January 1505 (AEG, RC 15, f. 143).

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lie at the base of many modern images of John Calvin and the Reformation, both popular and scholarly.[14] It might seem that glossing over a misinterpretation of the city government's discussion of a plague outbreak would not significantly impact our understanding of the religious movement of the Reformation. But as this example from Doumergue shows, historical scholarship that is not founded on sufficient empathy or attention to detail can, in fact, lead to assumptions about sixteenth-century society that hinder our ability to see historical developments clearly.

This is something that still happens when historians dismiss mention of *scandale* in the Genevan consistory records as evidence of the consistory's prudery or undue fascination with other people's personal lives.[15] When we set aside such assumptions, we can learn a great deal more about Genevans' interactions with the consistory and with one another, and we are better able to perceive the evidence that consistory records can provide about the dynamics of Reformation-era society. This challenges some of the assumptions that have led to dismissive scholarly attitudes about the consistory and scandal, and instead illustrates how much remains to be learned from looking at cases involving women and scandal in the Genevan consistory records. To that end, the remaining discussion will focus on several cases that use the word *scandale* but that never explicitly mention sex, cases in which the women under investigation were never called whores or fornicators, and cases in which these women never even had their sexual honor openly called into question.[16]

2 Scandalizing Women

By 1560, the year in which the following cases occurred, Genevan society had been officially Reformed for a full generation, since 1536. Furthermore, as

14 In addition to Doumerge, influential scholars include: Jean Gaberel, *Histoire de l'Église de Genève*, 3 vols (Geneva: 1858); J. B. G. Galiffe, *Genève historique et archéologique*, 7 vols (Geneva: 1869); Amedée Roget, *Histoire du peuple de Genève depuis la Réforme jusqu'à l'Escalade*, 3 vols (1870).

15 As, for example, when William Monter suggested that the types of behavior that the consistory labeled as *scandal* constituted "trivial reasons" for excommunication (Monter, "The Consistory of Geneva,"483).

16 For some examples of the growing literature on the connection between words, female honor, and reputation, see Elizabeth Ewan, "'Many Injurious Words': Defamation and Gender in Late Medieval Scotland," in *History, Literature, and Music and Scotland, 700–1560*, ed. R. Andrew McDonald (Toronto: 2002), 163–86, esp. 166; Laura Gowing, "Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London," *History Workshop* 35 (1993): 1–21; Douglas Spaeth, "Words and Deeds: Gender and the Language of Abuse in Early Modern Norfolk," *History Workshop* 78 (2014): 1–21.

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noted above, by 1560 the city council had already been using various forms of the word *scandale* for well over a century to refer to dangers and concerns that they faced in governing the city. In addition, the word *scandale*, used occasionally at the start of the consistory's operation in 1541, had appeared regularly in consistory records for over a decade. Throughout the consistory records, the consistory used the word *scandale* to describe a variety of behaviors ranging from marital disputes to domestic violence to disruptive behavior in church to fighting in front of Catholics when traveling outside of Geneva.[17] Finally, throughout the first decades of the Reformation in Geneva, in his sermons as well as his writing, John Calvin applied the word *scandale* in a variety of ways when discussing the challenges faced by committed Christians, whether in protecting the reputation of their faith and community, creating a loving and orderly environment within their own community, or being prepared to fully absorb Christian teachings.[18] In his 1560 definitive French edition of the *Institutes*, particularly in books three and four, Calvin addressed various forms of the word *scandale* as significant concerns and challenges to a truly Christian community.[19]

Thus, when we combine city council records with the consistory registers and set both into the context of John Calvin's writing and teaching, we know that by 1560 Genevans as a whole would have been accustomed to hearing local authorities use the word *scandale* in reference to a variety of threats and disturbances—political, physical, and religious. We also know that, with the establishment of the Reformation, Calvin and his colleagues sought to instruct Genevans in the danger of religious scandal to individuals, the Genevan community, and reformed Christianity as a whole. Knowing that church and city officials sought to spread their particular concepts of scandal, however, does not tell us how those efforts were received. For that, we must dig into the consistory records to discern what they can reveal.

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17 For examples of fights between spouses or neighbors that were frequently connected to scandal accusations, see AEG, R.Consist. 2, 91, 18 November 1546 (La Jacarde and her husband); AEG, R.Consist. 3, 135, 3 September 1547 (La Donne Jacqueline and the wife of Michel Narro); AEG, R.Consist. 4, 8, 8 March 1548 (the wives of Steffe Baudichon and Humbert Exerton); AEG, R.Consist. 5, 75v, 30 October 1550 (Pierre Dutonery and Guygone, his wife); AEG, R.Consist. 7, 11, 17 March 1552 (Gabriel Conte and his wife).

18 This includes his 1550 polemical treatise, *Des Scandales*, whose complete title was "Concerning scandals that today prevent many people from coming to the pure doctrine of the Scripture and that corrupt others." See Jean Calvin, *Des Scandales*, ed. Olivier Fatio (Geneva: 1984); John Calvin, *Concerning Scandals*, trans. John W. Fraser (Grand Rapids: 1978); John Calvin, "Institution de la religion Chrétienne," in *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, and Eduardus Reuss, 58 vols. (Brunswick: 1865–66), vols. 3 and 4.

19 John Calvin, "Institution de la religion Chrétienne," vols. 3 and 4.

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To that point, the first case to be considered here—mentioned briefly at the start—provides a small but remarkable piece of evidence of women's absorption and application of Reformed teachings on Christian behavior and the threat of scandal. In October 1560, the consistory summoned Jaquette Pierre, the widow of François Garnier. Jaquette had not attended the Lord's Supper for nearly a year, and the consistory accused her of saying that she was abstaining from communion because she was angry with some other Genevans who had testified in a civil case between her and her late husband's children. Faced with this accusation, Jaquette insisted that she "had not said any such words," so the consistory called its witnesses to present their testimony the following week.[20]

When the consistory reconvened, Jaquette explained that she had merely said that she "had abstained from the Lord's Supper three times" due to her legal conflict with her stepchildren.[21] Note the key distinction here: according to Jaquette, she was not avoiding communion because she was angry with someone who had testified against her in the civil court case, as the consistory alleged. Her abstention from communion was simply the result of her conflicted relationships with her stepchildren. The consistory pressed her to explain why she had chosen to excommunicate herself, "just as she pleased." This is a critical exchange: the consistory's question suggests that the elders and ministers viewed Jaquette's decision as a way of claiming religious authority for herself, an authority to which no layperson, much less lay*woman* had the right in Reformed congregations. Jaquette quickly deflected this potentially explosive issue by asserting that her brother-in-law, Monsieur de Poullen, had advised her to refrain from communion.[22] The consistory, however, was more concerned about *why* she was not going to communion.

The record notes that "since she did not want to come to the truth" of the matter, they had begun to question the witnesses, including another woman, Marguerite Barrault, and her male servant, Jehan Rousseau, both of whom were more forthcoming on the matter. Rousseau quickly reported that Jaquette had once told him that her reason for not attending communion was that Marguerite, his employer, had deposed testimony against Jaquette at her stepchildren's request.[23] Marguerite shared with the consistory that Jaquette had arrived unexpectedly at her house, accompanied by a woman "named Du Plessis," to chastise her for testifying against Jaquette about things that

20 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 164v, 24 October 1560.

21 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 169v, 31 October 1560.

22 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 170, 31 October 1560. On Genevans refraining from participating in communion when "troubled by conflicts or sins," see Watt, "Settling Quarrels and Nurturing Repentance," 79–81.

23 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 170, 31 October 1560.

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Marguerite "knew nothing about," and for giving "more information than the court had actually asked for." Jaquette had then told her that she, Marguerite, was the reason that Jaquette had skipped communion. In other words, according to Marguerite's testimony, it was not Jaquette's conflict with her stepchildren but, rather, her ire at how Marguerite had misrepresented her that led Jaquette to refrain from communion—it was not a family quarrel, but a neighborly quarrel that lay at the heart of the matter.[24]

After appearing at Marguerite's house uninvited and taking Marguerite to task for giving a deposition against her, Jaquette then "wanted to show her a New Testament, which she paged through to find a passage that she claimed showed that it was evil to scandalize one's neighbor like that." Marguerite responded that "one must tell the truth rather than keep silent."[25] And here, in this reported exchange, we have one version of the debate about Christian discipline, in a nutshell. Which is more important? To preserve communal peace by staying silent on certain matters, or to tell the truth about unchristian words or behavior, even if by describing them you make them more public and thus potentially more disruptive and damaging to the community? This quandary, with which theologians had been grappling for centuries, was further complicated in this particular exchange because Jaquette was accusing Marguerite of causing scandal by lying, and Marguerite was admitting only to potentially causing scandal by telling the truth.[26] Silence or testimony? Truth or lies? Jaquette and Marguerite's interaction suggests that concerns that we sometimes perceive as being imposed by the consistory also reflected existing concerns in the community, and perhaps helped provide new ways to articulate those concerns.

It is, of course, possible that this exchange did not happen as Marguerite reported it, but that seems unlikely. There is no regular pattern of this type of accusation in the consistory records. The registers give no indication of a trend of people wandering the streets with their New Testaments citing scandal-related passages. This is not any kind of short-hand that the consistory secretaries relied upon, and there is no existing evidence that Marguerite would have heard about this kind of exchange as a common complaint that resonated with the

24 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 170, 31 October 1560.

25 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 170, 31 October 1560.

26 The connection between truth and scandal—and whether religious truth, in particular, could be scandalous—is a theme of medieval discussions and gained a renewed importance as reformers, starting with Martin Luther, defended themselves from Catholic accusations of causing scandal. See Rebecca Sammel, "The 'Passio Lutheri': Parody as Hagiography," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 95 (1996): 157–74; Bryan, "*Vae Mundo a Scandalis*," 19–154.

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consistory. For all of these reasons, we have good cause to take this part of Marguerite's testimony as a description of something that actually happened. The fact that the secretary recorded these details of the exchange indicates that Jaquette's accusation and Marguerite's response did, indeed, resonate with the men of the consistory.

Among other things, this entry tells us that Jaquette could read (it is not clear regarding Marguerite's literacy), that she owned a portable copy of the New Testament, that she most likely had heard Genevan sermons addressing the issue of scandalizing one's neighbor, and that she felt justified in using the authority of scripture to defend her criticism of another Genevan's actions. Most importantly for the moment, whether or not Calvin and the consistory agreed with Jaquette's particular definition of scandal in this situation, this case tells us that at least some Genevans—and some Genevan women in particular—had made the connection between scriptural teachings on scandal as a religious problem, something harmful to the Christian community, and dealing with interpersonal conflict in their daily lives. It also tells us that while women such as Jaquette felt empowered to look to scripture to strategize about their personal situations, women such as Marguerite understood that such claim to religious authority was not entirely acceptable in the eyes of the consistory.[27]

Remarkably—and frustratingly—after finally eliciting this story from Marguerite, the consistory did not explicitly comment on this accusation of scandal or on Jaquette's use of the New Testament to justify her accusation. They did not condemn her for her act of reading scripture, which suggests that the pastors and elders accepted the idea that women might read the bible directly to themselves and even that it was acceptable to use a biblical text to defend a position in an argument with another woman. Their conclusion was more general, and it was reached despite the fact that Jaquette denied having said such things to Marguerite, and Jaquette's companion and servant both denied knowing anything about the visit. Ultimately the consistory decided that Jaquette—who was in trouble for suspending herself from the Lord's Supper—should be suspended from the Lord's Supper, and they remonstrated with her for her "lies and errors" without specifying what those were.

When Jaquette returned to the consistory two months later, there was no longer any mention of Marguerite or the exchange regarding scripture. Instead, the consistory was now focused on making sure that Jaquette reconciled with

27 On Calvin's views of women and religious authority, see Jane Dempsey Douglass, *Women, Freedom, and Calvin* (Philadelphia: 1985); John Lee Thompson, *John Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin, His Predecessors, and His Contemporaries* (Geneva: 1991).

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her stepchildren before they readmitted her to communion.[28] Thus, while Marguerite's testimony was crucial to the initial decision, ultimately the consistory appears to have set aside any concern about women arguing over scripture or defining scandal for themselves. This suggests that while women were not welcome in official roles as ministers or elders, and while no one—male or female—was permitted to challenge the minister's interpretation of scripture (without repercussions), space did exist for women to exchange ideas and argue about the meaning of scripture among themselves.

It would be easy to read the consistory's shift of attention away from the women's discussion of scripture as simply confirmation that women's religious discussions had no discernible impact on the Genevan church or society, but this would be to erase Jaquette and Marguerite's conversation, evidenced in the consistory records, from the historical record. Instead, this example suggests two aspects of Geneva Reformation society that demand further attention. First, this case indicates that, despite their diligence in rooting out *Catholic* beliefs, the consistory seems to have been far less concerned with Reformed religious conversations that remained among women than they were with any instance in which women were publicly challenging male authority—this was where greater risk of scandal lay. Second, and more importantly to the current discussion, while they may not have been invited into theological debates, Genevan women did have conversations about religion, and the ways that they interpreted Reformed teachings could shape their social interactions in ways that we must understand if we are to fully understand Reformed Genevan society.

While neither Jaquette nor Marguerite seems to have discussed her own definition of scandal with the consistory, other cases demonstrate more explicitly that some Genevan women shared the consistory's understanding of scandal as words or behavior that harmed the Christian community by causing confusion and disruption, although they did not necessarily have precisely the same concerns about the *impact* of that confusion and disruption. During the same months that Jaquette Pierre was interacting with the consistory, another Genevan woman was under fire for behavior that both the consistory and the witnesses testifying against her considered scandalous. The woman in question, Françoyse Bernard, was the wife of Jehan Frochet and, just as importantly for her social interactions in Geneva, the half-sister of Jacques

28 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 194, 17 December 1560. The secretary recorded that she was requesting to be admitted to the *cene* from which she had been suspended because of the "*malveillance* she had committed against" her stepchildren, for which reasons she had chosen to abstain from communion three times. See also AEG, R.Consist. 17, 197, 19 December 1560.

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Bernard, one of the first Catholic clergy to convert to the Reform in Geneva.[29] The first thing to notice about Francoyse's case is that immediately, in the first sentence of the entry, she admitted that "recently and often she goes to the sermon at Saint Pierre with great tumult and insult, taking her seat with great scandal" and bringing snacks with her, "like pretzels, apples, pears, chestnuts, and walnuts," to share with the people around her. She denied ever drinking alcohol at church, another of the accusations against her.[30] When the consistory switched topics and asked her about the bruises (marks) that people had seen on her face a few days earlier, she explained that it was she "and not her husband" who had caused them, going on to explain that she had been at the local baths, had gotten up to close the windows, and had slipped and banged her face on the shutter.

The pastors and elders were unsatisfied with Françoyse's answers, convinced that she had a habit of getting drunk, and especially concerned about a story that she had walked home drunk from the public baths. For all of these reasons, they demanded that she return the following week so that they could hear from witnesses regarding her behavior. These concerns, and the consistory's overall questioning of Françoyse, go straight to the heart of both Reformed and secular concerns about scandal: the public nature of her alleged actions, and the public disruption they caused, threatened both social and religious harm which, in the context of sixteenth-century Geneva, could not be entirely disentangled from one another.

Although initially the consistory was most focused on Françoyse's behavior at the baths, as the case developed it increasingly centered around her behavior at church.[31] The following week a battery of witnesses, almost all women,

29 See Isabella M. Watt and Jeffrey R. Watt, eds., *Registres du Consistoire de Genève au Temps de Calvin, Tome VIII: 25 mars 1553–1er février 1554* (Geneva: 2014); Philip Hughes, ed., *Register of the Company of Pastors in the Time of Calvin* (Grand Rapids: 1966). Françoyse was the half-sister of both Louis Bernard, who the first Genevan priest to convert to the Reformation and who served a term as the *procureur general* of Geneva, and Jacques Bernard, a Franciscan friar who became a Reformed pastor (Watt and Watt, *Registres*, 8: 26n155). Jacques Bernard, with whom Françoyse had a fraught relationship, had recently died, on 4 February 1559 (Hughes, *Register*, 62n5 and 342; Watt and Watt, 26 and 92). By the time of her appearance in 1560, Françoyse has a long record of appearances before the consistory for accusations including adultery (Watt and Watt, *Registres*, 8: 26n155).

30 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 174v, 7 November 1560. Her husband, Jehan Frochet the younger, also had his own long history of disruptive behavior, including being accused of *paillardise* and told by the consistory to respect his parents. See Isabella M. Watt and Thomas A. Lambert, eds., *Registres du Consistoire de Genève au Temps de Calvin, Tome III* (*1547–1548*) (Geneva: 2004), 109n699.

31 The consistory regularly applied the word *scandale* to disruptive behavior by both women and men during sermons. See, for example, AEG: R.Consist. 5, 82v,

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reported to the consistory on their views of Françoyse's scandalous behavior. One of the first things to notice here is that it was women of Geneva's social elite, along with some of their servants, who were stepping up to provide the consistory with information. The first witness, the "Lady Jehanne," was the widow of Jehan Baudichon, a wealthy merchant, participant in the city government, and strong supporter of the Reformation.[32] She reported that she had been returning from the baths with "Lady Pernette," the wife of a city syndic—one of the four positions at the head of the city government—when Françoyse, who was walking on the other side of the street with her brother's widow, called to Jehanne Baudichon "Hey girl, how you doin'?"[33] The fact that Jehanne was reporting this to the consistory as an indication of Françoyse's unacceptable behavior tells us that this was not how the widow of a leader of the city government expected to be addressed by the sister of a deceased minister and wife of a dressmaker.

Madame Maysonneufve, the syndic's wife, corroborated this account, adding that she had often seen Françoyse acting inebriated, even in church. For Madam Maysonneufve, it was this behavior in church that was the cause of scandal. She went on to explain that one time at Saint Pierre, the main cathedral in Geneva, Françoyse fell "in the middle of the women." She had also seen Françoyse eating at church, and creating many scandals "because she always walks past all the women instead of just sitting down." Another witness, a female servant, reported seeing Françoyse making her way through the seated women, falling down, and announcing, "I fall!"[34] The daughter of Madame Maysonneufve added that it seemed to all of them that Françoyse had been drunk. Nevertheless, Françoyse denied being drunk or disruptive, so the consistory concluded (as they had with Jaquette) that "since she won't come to the truth, despite the fact that there are several witnesses" they would recall her for the following week, with more witnesses.[35]

The first witness the following week was Marguerite, the widow of Robert Estienne, the French printer who spent the last decade of his life in Geneva working with Calvin. Marguerite testified that she had never noticed any of these goings-on and that she had never even seen Françoyse get up from her

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27 November 1550 (Andre, widow of Jacque Gruner); AEG, R. Consist. 17, 114, 18 July 1560 (Pernette Mareschaulx, et al.); AEG, R.Consist. 17, 120, 25 July 1560 (wife of Andre Noel).

32 William Innes, *Social Concern in Calvin's Geneva* (Allison Park, PA: 1983), 291. Baudichon is also "de la Maisonneuve." See also Thomas Martin Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation* (New York: 1907), 82–83.

33 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 177v, 14 November 1560.

34 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 177v, 14 November 1560.

35 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 177v, 14 November 1560.

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seat at church. Lady Françoise, wife of Seigneur Henry Aubert, testified that she had seen Françoyse Bernard fighting over seats and taking seats that women were saving for other people. She concluded that she had never seen her stumbling as if she were drunk. The final witness, a laundress named Jehanne, reported that Françoyse Frochet had almost fallen on top of her at church. She did not know if Françoyse was drunk, but stated that Françoyse had a habit of walking past all the seated women, even if there was a more direct way to get to her own place.[36]

The final witness was Françoyse's own female servant, who tried to argue that her mistress had had dinner at home, had not drunk any alcohol afterwards, and had not brought any snacks to church, but she quickly had to admit that she had not actually been there, "seeing that she was at catechism." The servant was suspended from communion "because of her lie and perjury."[37] Among other things, in that one phrase of explanation, this entry provides a clear example of the paradoxes and complexity of an officially Reformed society. Françoyse, under attack from other women for violating their social and religious standards, had in fact upheld a basic Reformed expectation of employers by ensuring that her servant attended catechism. Clearly, categorizing Genevans simply as for or against the work of Calvin and his reforming colleagues is not a fruitful approach to capturing the dynamics of Reformation society. Françoyse embodies the possibility that one might honestly support and violate different aspects of Reformed expectations at the same time.

Another striking element of this case is the fact that Françoyse was not being accused of trading insults with other women, defaming anyone, or creating any kind of financial scandal. Even more striking, these witnesses were not accusing Françoyse of any socially unacceptable sexual behavior. Madame de Maysonneufve was asserting that she and other onlookers were being scandalized by the disruption of the church service, by the physical contact between Françoyse and her social superiors, and by the violation of social standards. Whatever else is going on in this case, it is clear that some of these women did not like each other. More importantly for our understanding of Reformed society, what most bothered the witnesses about Françoyse was her disruptive behavior. This reaction raises interesting questions about the whole group of women sitting together at church as well as about Françoyse's disregard for social etiquette and the respect for social hierarchy embedded in that

36 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 181v, 21 November 1560.

37 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 181v–82, 21 November 1560.

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etiquette, but these are questions for another discussion.[38] In terms of better understanding the culture of daily life in sixteenth-century Geneva, we learn from this case that, not surprisingly, being drunk in church was not socially acceptable, but also that eating in church was something that at least some people looked down upon.[39] This example also confirms that Genevan women were attending church and sitting together, rather than with their husbands or families. Furthermore, this case suggests that by 1560 women who attended services had established certain rules of decorum, which Françoyse was violating by entering late (the witnesses were all already seated) and noisily.

What especially stands out about this case involving allegedly scandalous behavior during a sermon is the fact that, despite the witnesses' detailed descriptions of Françoyse's disruptive behavior—down to the list of loud and crunchy snacks—no minister testified to this disruption. Other times, accusations against Genevans of scandalous behavior at church were likely to come from a frustrated minister or to be corroborated by a minister or elder who had been present at the service in question.[40] In this case, despite the clear outrage of influential women such as Jehanne Baudichon and Madame de Maysonneufve, no minister stepped up to confirm that Françoyse had distracted the congregation from the sermon or violated any established rules of decorum. Not only this, but there is no record of Françoyse being excommunicated at this time, either for being disruptive in church or for being drunk. The consistory simply remonstrated with her regarding her many faults, "as much as for quarreling at church and eating pretzels as for being drunk on the way home from the baths and [for the] confusion she created about seats" at

38 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 181v–82, 21 November 1560.

39 I have not yet discovered consistent evidence about Genevan eating habits in church, although there is another intriguing example in 1560 of a young German servant of Loys Dupont whose alleged violations included giving candy to a woman while attending a sermon (AEG, R.Consist. 17, 197v, 10 December 1560). For examples of a contrast to any prohibitions on eating in church, the consistory records provide consistent examples of official concerns about drunkenness at sermons or in churches, see AEG, R.Consist. 5, 81v, 20 November 1550 (Ayme Darnex); AEG, R.Consist. 8, 19, 4 May 1553 (wife of Claude Gallois); AEG, R.Consist. 17, 83v, 83v, 30 May 1560 (Jacques Bauld et al.); AEG, R.Consist. 17, 197v, 19 December 1560 (Francoyse, wife of Myville); AEG, R.Consist. 18, 150v, 30 October 1561 (Elizabeth, wife of Pierre Fontaine). The connections between general drunkenness (not at church) and accusations of scandal constitute another element of my larger investigation.

40 See, for example, AEG, R.Consis. 3, 140, 15 September 1547 (Anrite, wife of Pierre Joli); AEG, R.Consist. 3, 152, 6 October 1547 (Estienne Sarpant); AEG, R.Consist. 5, 21v., 17 April 1550 (Philibert de la Mars).

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church.[41] Jehanne Baudichon and her fellow witnesses may have found some satisfaction in knowing that Françoyse had been reprimanded by the consistory, but at the same time the consistory's decision does not seem to reflect the depth of the witnesses' reaction to Françoyse's behavior. This raises important questions about the gendered environment of Genevan sermon attendance and the social expectations involved in seating arrangements and sermon attendance which have not been sufficiently explored for Geneva and require further research.

A final example illustrates how Genevan women negotiated the definition of scandalous behavior directly with the consistory itself, not only among themselves or with the consistory as an intermediary. About six weeks after Françoyse's appearance, the consistory called the wife of Pierre Ferrier "for her insolences." She confirmed that she had attended the sermon on a particular communion Sunday but denied "having created scandal" as the consistory "wanted to imply."[42] One of the pastors, Monsieur Enoch, further reported that on the most recent Sunday, Ferrier's wife had skipped the sermon altogether with "twenty or thirty" other women to have a meal at someone's house.[43] Ferrier's wife admitted to attending the meal with a group of women, an example which contrasts with the previous cases to show us, instead, camaraderie that Genevan women might find in *not* attending church sometimes. This case also reveals how the act of labeling words or actions as *scandale* was a process of debate and negotiation in Reformation Geneva. Ferrier's wife did not deny any particular actions, but she clearly denied that any of her actions constituted scandal. Further, she suggested that the consistory members themselves were being untruthful in "implying" that the nature of her behavior was problematic when it was not. Thus, to return to a point from the beginning of

41 AEG, R.Consist. 17, 181v–182, 21 November 1560. The consistory's wording suggests that this case also relates to existing arguments in Reformed congregations regarding the social honor and hierarchy connected to church seating arrangements. For examples of seating controversies, see Raymond Mentzer, "Les débats sur les bancs dans les Églises réformées de France," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 152 (2006): 393–406; Andrew Spicer, "The Huguenots and Marks of Honor and Distinction in the Parish Church and Reformed Temple," in *Emancipating Calvin: Culture and Confessional Identity in Francophone Reformed Communities*, eds. Karen E. Spierling, Erik A. de Boer, and R. Ward Holder (Leiden: 2018), 230–49, esp. 237–40. On seating quarrels in Scottish churches, see Andrew Spicer, "'Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Worde': Preaching, Pews and Reformed Worship in Scotland, 1560–1638," *History* 88 (2003): 405–22; Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: 2002), 318–27.

42 AEG, R. Consist. 17, 206v, 2 January 1561.

43 AEG, R. Consist. 17, 206v, 2 January 1561.

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this essay, we see here how the variability of meanings of *scandale* might allow women to debate openly with the male authorities of the consistory about the significance of their own behavior and about what constituted a threat to the Christian community. In this case, the resolution suggests that Ferrier's wife won the negotiation regarding the harmful nature of her behavior: when the same group of women returned to the consistory a week later for further questioning, the consistory simply sent them all "back home" with admonitions "to not return here again."[44] In other words, while their absence from church and private gatherings had stirred public notice, ultimately the consistory members did not judge their behavior to have caused such public harm or disturbance that it required public reparations.

3 Conclusion

As these three cases demonstrate, women were active participants in defining Reformed culture and society in Reformation Geneva, and the consistory records are valuable sources for learning more about the dynamics of women's participation. The fact that women did not sit on the consistory or city council or have access to the pulpit does not mean that Genevan women simply acquiesced to the imposition of Reformed teachings and standards, nor does it mean, at the other extreme, that all women were secretly practicing Catholics tied to religious traditions more firmly than their male counterparts. Instead, these cases show that with the coming of the Reformation and the re-emergence of the term *scandal* as something damaging to souls and Christian harmony, Genevan women had a new, religiously potent vocabulary for arguing with one another, reporting problems to the consistory, defending themselves against neighbors' accusations, and even engaging male Reformed authorities in debate. Despite the fact that the context of the consistory records was always a situation in which elite men sat in authority over the women (and men) who appeared before them, these records reveal sometimes unexpected spaces for navigation and negotiation. The cases examined here illustrate just some of the ways that women applied the concept of scandal to address interpersonal conflicts. Further research will help us to better understand the ways that Reformed teachings about scandal may also, conversely, have shaped women's (and men's) concerns about the communal impact of such conflicts.

44 AEG, R. Consist. 17, 210, 9 January 1561.

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EPILOGUE

A Festival of *Festschriften*

Merry Wiesner-Hanks

I first met Susan Karant-Nunn in about 1980, when the number of female scholars of the German Reformation could be counted on one hand, and the number of female scholars of the German Reformation who were interested in women could be counted on one hand with missing digits. Throughout the 1980s and frequently since then, we both contributed chapters to the same edited collections, many of them *Festschriften*, including one in honor of the thumb of that hand, Miriam Chrisman.[1] Like this book, those *Festschriften*—indeed, all *Festschriften*—have a diverse approach to chronology: they look backward over the career of the scholar they are honoring, forward from various points in that career to survey more recent work influenced by the changing interests of the scholar, and sideways to examine directions in which people have moved from the scholarship of the honoree. Thus, like the inlaid wooden cabinet Helmut Puff examines in his essay in this collection, *Festschriften* are heterochronous, with several temporal registers operating simultaneously.

For this epilogue I decided to add yet another temporal register, and look back at the *Festschriften* and other collections in which Susan's work has appeared to trace her career and the course of Reformation history, as she has written chapters in more than 40 collections, of which at least 12, by my count, are *Festschriften*.[2] We more commonly chart a scholar's influence through books and articles in refereed journals; indeed, these are the only things the various assessment schema for measuring scholarly productivity devised by European higher education funding councils allow our colleagues there to count. Collections of articles often mark an initial coalescing of scholarly thinking on a topic, a conversation that might ultimately result in many books or a whole new field. This is why collections have not disappeared as a form of scholarly publication, but have moved to journals, as every journal editor now receives a flood of requests for special issues. Collections can also mark

1 Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall, eds., *The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Miriam Usher Chrisman* (Athens, OH: 1988).

2 Because Susan and I have been friends for what is close to four decades, I cannot bear to call her "Professor Karant-Nunn" here, and hope she and the editors will forgive my informality. In keeping with this decision, I refer to all the authors in this volume by first names as well, and trust they will understand.

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the esteem in which the editors of the volume hold scholars, inviting them to contribute because they expect them to have something interesting to say (or because they know that the scholar is a responsible person who will get her essay in on time). In Susan's case, these collections from decades past connect in thought-provoking ways with the book you have in your hand. They are objects created in the past, but the questions they raise continue to resonate. Thus they have an unexpected afterlife and impact, no matter what higher education councils think of them.[3]

Unsurprisingly, the themes that are central in Susan's major monographs, including the urban Reformation, ritual, and emotion, also emerge in her articles that appear in collections, but so do many others that have shaped our view of religious change in the sixteenth century and the people who promoted and opposed it. Those topics reflected in essays in this volume include performative masculinity, connections among men and among women, women's religious agency, the role of art and material culture, redefinitions of community, and the centrality of compassion.

Susan's first essay in a *Festschrift*, "Martin Luther and the City of Zwickau," appeared in 1985 in a volume dedicated to the memory of Harold Grimm, who had died in 1983 after a long career at Ohio State University, where he had prepared some forty doctorates.[4] For some reason the book's editors decided to reach beyond those forty, for half of the fourteen authors in the volume were not Grimm's former students. At the time, Susan was researching what would become her second book, on Zwickau, and had already looked at the impact of the Reformation in Zwickau on women.[5] For her chapter in the abovementioned volume she looked at men, though neither she nor the editors in their introduction point this out, as men were (and largely still are) what we have come to term an "unmarked category" in historical analysis.

In their introduction to that collection, the editors *do* point out that three of the authors are women (Susan, Grethe Jacobsen, and I), a proportion that, in

3 The same is true of translations and updated editions to previously published books and other types of scholarly products that generally do not count in assessment exercises. For criticism of the assessment systems in the UK, see (among many): Andrew Oswald, "REF Should Stay Out of the Game," *The Independent* (London), 26 November 2009, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/higher/andrew-oswald-ref-should-stay-out-of-the-game-1827306.html, accessed 10 June 2020.

4 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Martin Luther and the City of Zwickau," in *Pietas et Societas: New Trends in Reformation Social History. Essays in Honor of Harold J. Grimm*, eds. Kyle C. Sessions and Phillip N. Bebb (Kirksville: 1985), 151–61.

5 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Zwickau in Transition, 1500–1547: The Reformation As an Agent of Change* (Columbus: 1987); Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Continuity and Change: Some Effects of the Reformation on the Women of Zwickau," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982): 17–42.

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collections on the Reformation published in the 1980s, made this one unusual. The editors also comment about us: "Their scholarship affirms a basic precept of the historian's craft, always to be alert to new ways of viewing an established topic."[6] I am not sure why being alert to new perspectives is a consequence of our gender—and the editors say no more about this—but I do know that Susan's take on the conflicts in Zwickau between the city magistrates, artisans, religious orders, pastors, and Luther himself involves exactly what we would today call "performative masculinity," a topic also considered in the essays in this volume by Helmut Puff, David Whitford, and Amy Burnett. In her essay in the Grimm *Festschrift*, Susan notes that Paul Lindenau, the Protestant pastor in St. Mary's Church, railed from the pulpit against Zwickau's burgomaster, Hermann Mühlpfort, in sexualized language much like what David has analyzed in this book for Luther: "You whore, you lout, you proud wretch, you haughty boob, you high-falutin' donkey … I won't condone your airs, misdeeds, knavery, shitting around, thievery, and whoring!"[7] In this conflict over who would have the authority to appoint city clergy, individual men and groups of men jostled for power, just as they did in every Reformation situation. As theorists and historians of masculinity have made clear, men defined (and continue to define) what it meant to be a man not only in relation to women but also in relation to other groups of men. Susan's article from a third of a century ago provides a very early example of this insight.[8]

Jostling men are also the focus of Susan's next essay in a *Festschrift*, "What Was Preached in German Cities in the Early Years of the Reformation?: *Wildwuchs* versus Lutheran Unity."[9] She examines a range of sermons preached by well-known clergy, such as Andreas Karlstadt, and lesser known clergy,

6 Sessions and Bebb, *Pietas et Societas*, xiv.

7 Karant-Nunn, "Martin Luther and the City of Zwickau," 159. This is from Mühlpfort's letter to Stephan Roth in Wittenberg, contained in the Weimarer Ausgabe *Briefwechsel*, and is Susan's translation.

8 Her more recent essays on various aspects of masculinity make this point as well, including: Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'Fast wäre mir ein weibliches Gemüt verblieben': Martin Luthers Männlichkeit," in *Luther zwischen den Kulturen: Zeitgenossenschaft—Weltwirkung*, eds. Hans Medick and Peer Schmidt (Göttingen: 2004), 49–65; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Martin Luther's Masculinity: Theory, Practicality, and Humor," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, eds. Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville: 2008), 167–89; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "The Tenderness of Daughters, the Waywardness of Sons: Martin Luther As a Father," in *Revisiting the Vineyard: Essays on Scott Hendrix's Thesis of the Reformation as Christianization*, eds. Anna Marie Johnson and John A. Maxfield (Tubingen: 2012), 245–55.

9 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "What Was Preached in German Cities in the Early Years of the Reformation?: *Wildwuchs* versus Lutheran Unity," in Bebb and Marshall, *Process of Change*, 81–96.

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demonstrating that preaching in the early years of the Reformation was eclectic, unsettling, action-oriented, and often mocking toward men with whom the preacher disagreed. As does Amy Burnett in her study of the *Streitkultur* of disputing men in this volume, Susan highlights differences between oral presentation and printed works, noting that the printed works tended to present a narrower vision more in line with the views of the magistrates and princes who controlled (or at least sought to control) the output of the presses.

Masculinity is about connections, as well as conflicts, among men. The two 1980s essays by Susan discuss links among groups and between individuals, as do those in this volume by James Tracy and Lyndal Roper. In analyzing a letter to his co-religionists sent by David Ungnad, the Lutheran ambassador for the Catholic Hapsburgs to the Ottoman sultan's court in Istanbul, Jim traces Ungand's use of Lutheran tropes to persuade his addressees to agree to a very un-Lutheran action: sending money and soldiers to a Catholic sovereign for military purposes. Lyndal discusses the group portraits of the Protestant reformers that served as the frontispiece for Luther's *Tischreden* or appeared as stand-alone prints as well as paired and joint portraits of Luther and Melanchthon, the Laurel and Hardy of the sixteenth century, at least in body type. Such representations of Luther with the men in his orbit, she notes, were far more common than those showing Luther and Katherina von Bora, with those of Luther and Melanchthon as the twin Reformation intellects widespread well into the eighteenth century.

Joint portraits of Luther and Melanchthon continue to be popular today, in fact, sometimes in surprising places, including the cover of Leo Vogt, *Das Luther-Melanchthon-Kochbuch: Kochen und Backen zur Zeiten der Reformation*.[10] Reinforcing Lyndal's point about the prominence of the Luther/Melanchthon portraits when compared with those of Martin and Katharina, I can find no evidence of a cookbook in any language that features the Luther couple, though Elke Strauchenbuch has published one book on Luther's wedding and another on his "Küchengeheimnisse" in her series of popular books on the reformer.[11] This situation would no doubt have surprised the second-generation Lutheran pastor Johannes Mathesius, whose sermons Susan analyzed in a *Festschrift*

10 Leo Vogt, *Das Luther-Melanchthon-Kochbuch: Kochen und Backen zur Zeiten der Reformation* (Karlsruhe: 2015) includes 128 recipes. I have not been able to access this book, so wonder just what recipes are connected to the slender and abstemious Melanchthon, rather than to Luther, whose brief prayer, "Unser Herr Gott, gönnt uns wohl zu essen und zu trinken und fröhlich zu sein," as recorded in the *Tischreden*, would seem to be better inspiration for a cookbook.

11 Elke Strauchenbuch, *Luthers Hochzeit* (Leipzig: 2017); Elke Strauchenbuch, *Luthers Küchengeheimnisse* (Leipzig: 2015).

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for Gerald Strauss, and who advocated that girls pray to God: "let me become a good housekeeper." In his elegy for her, Mathesius praises his own wife as someone who along with "faith, modesty, truth, and love … tended child and kitchen, ran her house."[12] Perhaps such paragons of wifely virtue simply have no need for cookbooks.

Portraits were not simply visual images, but also objects that hung on the walls of homes and churches, stood on tables, and, if small enough, were carried around in purses and pockets. They were thus tangible things. Given history's recent material turn, it is not surprising that several of the essays in this book focus on objects, making Susan's essays from thirty years ago prescient.[13] She took a slight detour from the Reformation *per se* to write on the Saxon silver miners, using as her sources the woodcuts that appeared in Agricola's *De re metallica* as well as various written records, and analyzing the miners' work, social position, and religious life.[14] Religious life centered on rituals, not theology, in which objects played a central role, such as the candles carried in the processions of the various miners' religious confraternities or placed on altars in parish churches built in the boom towns of Annaberg and Joachimsthal. Like the miraculous water drawn from Catholic holy wells and Lutheran miracle wells that Ute Lotz-Heumann investigates in this book, those candles were part of religious cultures that were simultaneously shared, contested, and hierarchical. Women were dues-paying members of confraternities, but were never chosen as candle-bearers for ceremonies, and as the sixteenth century progressed, both women and poor miners were increasingly excluded, as the confraternity became an elite male club.

12 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*: Social Ideology in the Sermons of Johannes Mathesius," in *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, eds. Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville: 1992), 121–40, quotations on 130, 139–40.

13 Useful recent discussions of material culture in history include: "*AHR* Conversation: Historians and the Study of Material Culture," with Leora Auslander, Amy Bentley, Leor Halevi, H. Otto Sibum, and Christopher Witmore, *American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 1355–1404; Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, eds., *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: 2010).

14 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "The Women of the Saxon Silver Mines," in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*, ed. Sherrin Marshall (Bloomington: 1989), 29–46; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Between Two Worlds: The Social Position of the Silver Miners of the Erzgebirge, c. 1460–1575," *Social History* 14 (1989): 307–22; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "From Adventurers to Drones: The Saxon Silver Miners as an Early Proletariat," in *The Workplace before the Factory: Artisans and Proletarians 1500–1800*, eds. Thomas Max Safley and Leonard N. Rosenband (Ithaca, NY: 1993), 73–99.

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In her essay in this collection, Amy Newhouse provides us with another example of the role material culture played in drawing social boundaries, this time those between healthy and sick rather than boundaries created by gender, class, or confessional adherence. Not only were the sick, including lepers, ordered to cover their bodies in more layers of cloth and clothing than the healthy, but lepers in Nuremberg received a white cloth at the city's annual *Lepraschau*, an event established in 1394 by well-to-do women who provided medical diagnoses, religious services, and charity for nonresidential lepers. Holding the cloth to their lips enabled lepers to take communion without accidentally expelling the host through their diseased lips, a fear of the city officials who ran the event. One might assume that such fears would end after the city's adoption of Lutheran views on communion, but they remained, a continuity in views of the role of material objects in ritual similar to that which Susan highlighted for baptism several decades ago. Despite the doctrine of justification by faith, she noted, Luther continued to regard baptism by water as essential to salvation, so much so that he preserved emergency baptism by the midwife in the birthing chamber as an approved ritual.[15] Miraculous water, indeed.

Whatever objects they involve, rituals are all about inclusion and exclusion from a community, and in the 1990s Susan began her extensive exploration of ritual with a focus on churching, that ceremony of purification and thanksgiving six weeks after a birth through which new mothers were welcomed back into the public community of believers.[16] Luther did not advocate an end to churching, and it is still available in some Christian traditions; the Anglican Church and its offshoots around the world, including the Episcopalians in the United States, continue to offer the ritual, though they term it "A Thanksgiving for the Birth or Adoption of a Child." Churching was, as Susan emphasizes, a *women's* rite, with the mother surrounded by the women who had been with them during the birth, including the midwife. Afterwards she entertained

15 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'Suffer the Little Children to Come unto Me, and Forbid Them Not': The Social Location of Baptism in Early Modern Germany," in *Continuity and Change, the Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Studies in Honor of Heiko A. Oberman on His Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Andrew C. Gow and Robert J. Bast (Leiden: 2000), 359–78. There is also a chapter on baptism in Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: 1997), 43–71.

16 For Susan's first publication on the churching of women, see "Churching," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (Oxford: 1996), 331–32. This was followed quickly by Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "A Women's Rite: Churching and the Reformation of Ritual," in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, eds. R. Po-chia Hsia and R. W. Scribner (Wiesbaden: 1997), 111–38, and a chapter on churching in *Reformation of Ritual*, 72–90.

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them and other female friends and relatives with a festive meal, the expense of which was a cause of complaint for clergy, though they were happy to take her payment for the ritual. Most women in Lutheran areas continued to seek churching, but a few did not, behavior regarded by male authorities as flippant disregard of the desired uniformity in religious practice and thus harmful to the Christian community. The words of women concerning their own religious decisions or those of others are rarely recorded, which makes the accusations of *scandale* that women in Geneva made against one another, examined by Karen Spierling in her essay in this volume, particularly welcome as a source. Karen emphasizes that women as well as men regarded disorderly behavior as harmful to Christian harmony, and backed this up with actions and words, including reports to the consistory. As Susan and many others have noted, confessionalization and social discipline, joint processes that have been the focus of so much Reformation scholarship over the last several decades, were primarily the work of men, but as her work and Karen's in this volume also show, women could be actors and not simply acted upon.[17]

Those female actors include the many women rulers and ruler-surrogates of early modern Europe, whose religious opinions and decisions affected their subjects as well as themselves and their families. Early modern states relied on family networks and soft power along with war and official state-to-state diplomacy to expand and hold power, which allowed women in ruling dynasties to have robust roles, including the reformation of religious institutions and rituals. William Monter has recently examined thirty women who had sovereign authority over major European states in the era 1300–1800, including well-known figures such as Isabella of Castile, Mary I, Elizabeth I of England, Catherine the Great of Russia, and less familiar rulers of Denmark, Sweden, Cyprus, Navarre, and the Hapsburg lands.[18] Added to these are widows, sisters, and other family members who served as regents, such as Mary of Hungary, analyzed by Victoria

17 On men as agents of social discipline, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'They have highly offended the community of God': Pastoral Identity and Rituals of Ecclesiastical Discipline in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century German Parishes," in *From the Middle Ages to Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World. Festschrift for James D. Tracy,* eds. Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley (London: 2006), 211–29. For more on women as agents, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Weibliche Kommunikation in der deutschen Stadt am Ende des Mittelalters," in *Die Stadt als Kommunikationsraum: Festschrift für Karl Czok*, eds. Helmut Bräuer and Elke Schlenkrich (Leipzig: 2001), 467–74.

18 William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe 1300–1800* (New Haven: 2012). See also Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 2002); Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki, eds., *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* (Urbana: 2009). Charles Beem and Carole Levin are editing an entire series, Queenship and Power, at Palgrave-Macmillan, which in summer 2020 had

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Christman in this volume. Like her first cousin and exact contemporary Mary Tudor (they died in the same year), and like Elizabeth Tudor and most other female rulers and regents of the sixteenth century, Mary of Hungary engaged skillfully in foreign relations, appointed and fired counselors and officials, and set and enforced religious policy. As Victoria notes, the only comments about her gender making her unfit to rule came from Mary herself in her 1555 abdication letter, penned three years before John Knox wrote *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, the century's most extreme statement against female rule. Though Knox clearly believed what he wrote, Victoria suggests that womanly weakness may simply have been a rhetorical trope for Mary, or at least was not borne out by her actions, as she was an independent and determined ruler whose religious convictions mixed with political and dynastic concerns.

Mary of Hungary may not have known as much about her fellow female rulers as we do, but the fact that her brother trusted her to maintain Habsburg power is evidence of societal expectations of female competence that went along with the better-known patriarchal norms of women's inferiority.[19] Those expectations were communicated to her, and to other women from Europe's elite, beginning in childhood. One could view the printed emblem books given to Dorothea of Anhalt when she was a girl that Mara Wade examines in this volume as evidence for an inculcation into patriarchal values, designed to teach Dorothea the principles of devotion and dynasty that she would need as the future wife of some Protestant prince, and they were that. In signing the interspersed blank pages, her older female relatives often chose which emblem they would sign next to, thus indicating something about their religious ideas and modeling the dynastic and genealogical awareness expected of a woman of Dorothea's station. As Mara notes, her relatives by birth all signed in one place in the book, probably at the time they were at a family member's funeral. The Anhaltine signatories included six women and one man, making signing the emblem book to some degree also a woman's rite. One of the emblem books given to Dorothea was, in fact, the only emblem book written by a female author, a polyglot edition that actively engaged the reader's religious knowledge by requiring her to establish their biblical allusions. Thus, whoever gave these books to Dorothea expected that she had, or would develop as she

60 titles, mostly concerning medieval and early modern Europe: https://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14523.

19 For more on norms of competence, see Allyson Poska, "The Case for Agentic Gender Norms for Women in Early Modern Europe," part of a forum, "Reconsidering Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe and the Middle East," *Gender and History* 30.2 (July 2018): 354–65.

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matured, an active understanding of the Bible and other religious texts, in several languages, abilities she would use as she negotiated the multi-confessional Holy Roman Empire. They would be one element among many through which she might, as Susan put it in a 1998 essay, gain a "face," the ability to reflect on her existence and place in the world.[20]

Competent women in charge of institutions through which they had significant political, cultural, and religious power were not limited to female rulers in early modern Europe, of course, but also included abbesses of convents, who were often themselves members of elite families with faces that projected authority, even if framed by a wimple. In the Empire, long traditions of power, independence, and prestige in many convents combined with a spiritual life that had been reinvigorated by reforms in the fifteenth century made many convents vocal and resolute opponents of the Protestant Reformation. The Protestant championing of marriage and family life, which some nuns accepted with great enthusiasm as a message of liberation from the convent, was viewed by others as a negation of the value of the life they had been living; they thus did all in their power to continue in their chosen path. They fought secularization and disbanding as long as they could, and were occasionally able to slow down the process, sometimes by accepting Lutheran theology, as did the convents in Ernestine Saxony examined by Marjorie Elizabeth (Beth) Plummer in this volume. A few convents, such as the wealthy free imperial abbey of Quedlinburg, were able to become Protestant institutions with little loss to their holdings. When their abbess Anna von Stolberg became a Protestant in the 1540s, she made all priests at the nine churches in the abbey's territory swear to accept Luther's ideas and turned her Franciscan monastery into an elementary school for both boys and girls, an interesting gender reversal of what was the usual pattern of male authorities transforming female convents into schools or using convent property to fund (male, of course) scholars at universities. But for most convents the story is more like the one Beth traces for Ernestine Saxony, in which some nuns left and married, but older ones experienced great financial and physical hardship as they lost the community within which they had expected to live out their days.

In the early years of the Reformation, abbesses such as Charitas Pirckheimer and nuns such as Katharina Rem vigorously defended convent life in ringing tones. The older ex-nuns of Saxony also emphasized that life in a convent

20 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Melanchthons Vision zur türkischen Amme: Wie Frauen in Deutschland der Frühen Neuzeit Orte und Raume gewannen und ihr 'Gesicht' wahrten," in *Geschlechterperspektiven: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Heide Wunder and Gisela Engel (Königstein: 1998), 42–56.

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could be spiritual and virtuous, but, as Beth notes, the predominant motif in their petitions for support was suffering. This is not unexpected, as every petition for support, by women or men, in any period, stresses the great need of the petitioner, as this might awaken compassion on the part of the addressee, and help achieve the desired result. An emphasis on suffering was also a key part of late medieval and early modern Christian devotion, as Susan underscored in her first essays on the emotions and the Reformation, which began to appear in 1999, early works in history's "emotional turn."[21]

The suffering that stood at the center of Christian piety was Christ's on the cross, of course, and also that of his mother and other women at the foot of that cross.[22] Those on Calvary included the two criminals crucified alongside Christ, and in his essay in this volume Charles Zika examines how compassion for suffering was extended to them, or at least to their souls. Visual representations of the crucifixion and of contemporary executions, Charles demonstrates, increasingly show clergy giving criminals communion or otherwise ministering to their spiritual needs. Thus, though their live bodies might have been cruelly tortured and their dead bodies tossed into unhallowed ground, the souls of the executed had the possibility of returning to spiritual union with Christ and his community through ritual. Here Charles highlights the value of visual sources for the history of the emotions, the history of ritual, and the connections between them, just as Susan did in an earlier analysis of

21 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'Gedanken, Herz und Sinn': Die Unterdrückung der religiösen Emotionen," in *Kulturelle Reformation: Sinnformationen im Umbruch, 1400–1600*, eds. Bernhard Jussen and Craig Koslofsky (Göttingen: 1999), 69–95, revised and translated as "'Christians' Mourning and Lament Should Not Be Like the Heathens," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, eds. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Farnham: 2004), 107–30; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Die Gefühle der Jungfrau: Weibliche Religiösität in einem 'eisernen' Zeitalter," in *Wege der Neuzeit: Festschrift für Heinz Schilling zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Stefan Ehrenpreis, Ute Lotz-Heumann, Olaf Mörke, and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Berlin: 2007), 127–42; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Catholic Intensity in Post-Reformation Germany: Preaching on the Passion and Catholic Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Politics and Reformations: Studies in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Christopher Ocker, Michael Printy, Peter Starenko, and Peter Wallace (Leiden: 2007), 373–96. For overviews of the emotional turn, see Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117.5 (2012): 1487–1531; Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What Is the History of the Emotions?* (London: 2018).

22 See Karant-Nunn, "Die Gefühle der Jungfrau," and also Chapter 5 in *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: 2010).

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manuscript illuminations of the rituals of grief that were on display in the 1586 funeral procession of Elector August I of Saxony.[23]

Pia Cuneo turns to visual sources as well in her analysis of the horses in Lucas Cranach the Younger's 1549 large-scale oil painting, the *Conversion of Paul*. In this dramatic work produced at a tumultuous moment in the German Reformation, Pia argues, Cranach uses the figures of the horses as well as the humans to create a distinction between the sinful and the saved, and between the right and wrong sides of the confessional divide. In a 2002 essay, Susan highlighted the ways in which German authors sought to separate humans from animals, but here Cranach links the human and equine figures through his depictions of their emotional and physical states as Jesus confronts Saul on the road to Damascus.[24] The division is not between animal and human, but between those who lack any understanding of God and those who acknowledge the presence of the divine, including Saul's genuflecting horse.

Kathyrn (Kay) Edwards similarly bridges unexpected divides in her essay in this volume, those between the living and the dead, and between saints and ghosts. As with clergy offering rituals to criminals, compassion for suffering is at the heart of postmortem apparitions, though for saints and ghosts, Kay comments, this went in opposite directions: saints offered compassion and consolation *to* the living, while ghosts sought it *from* them. Both were part of a fluid transcendent realm that was understood to intervene regularly in daily life, epitomizing the community of the living and the dead. As did Susan in a 2008 article on ghost stories, Kay notes that the Reformation brought a rethinking of appearances from the hereafter, though as with so many other aspects of the Reformation examined in this book—men's and women's roles, the purpose of rituals, the importance of objects, the centrality of community—that rethinking did not necessarily mean rejection.[25] Quoting Susan from an article *not* in a

23 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'With covered faces': An Emotion Ritual in Early Modern Germany," in *Rituals of Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Edward Muir*, eds. Mark Jurdjevic and Rolf Strøm-Olsen (Toronto: 2016), 391–412. For a broader discussion of visual sources and religious ritual, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Die Reformation des Rituals und ihre visuellen Effekte im Sakralraum," in *Topographien des Sakralen: Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne*, eds. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Munich and Hamburg: 2008), 90–102.

24 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'Not Like the Unreasoning Beasts': Rhetorical Efforts to Separate Humans and Animals in Early Modern Germany," in *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment: Constructing Publics in the Early Modern German Lands*, ed. James Melton (Farnham: 2002), 225–38.

25 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Babies, Baptism, Bodies, Burials, and Bliss: Ghost Stories and Their Rejection in the Late Sixteenth Century," in *Tod und Jenseits in der Schriftkultur der Frühen Neuzeit* [*Death and Views of the Hereafter in the Written Culture of the Early Modern Era*], eds. Marion Kobelt-Groch and Cornelia Niekus Moore (Wiesbaden: 2008), 11–22.

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Festschrift, "historians were once so intent on the Reformation as a break with the Catholic past that they failed to notice how much it actually carried over from its late medieval progenitors."[26]

As I commented at the beginning of this epilogue, I would argue that the devaluation of *Festschriften* and other collections comes from a similar failure to notice continuities, not with the past, but with the future, as collections often foreshadow trends and themes that are on the horizon. Despite the fact that I edit two scholarly journals—and *pace* higher education councils and our colleagues in the sciences whose practices we humanists are urged to emulate—these are not the only places that important work emerges. Using Susan's incredibly productive career as a demonstration of this might be unfair, as I can think of few other scholars of the Reformation who so many editors on such a wide range of topics would have invited because they thought her essay essential to the aims of the collection.[27] And I know of no one as gracious, who I suspect—and in one case know—would not turn down an invitation, even if it kept her from what she wanted to be doing. Her voice has been part of the celebrations of the work of more than a dozen scholars, and I am pleased the editors asked me to be a part of this tribute to her. Though I know her Methodist forebears might look askance at toasting, I raise a festive glass: To Susan!

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26 Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Changing One's Mind: Transformations in Reformation History from a Germanist's Perspective," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005), 1101–27, here 1115–16.

27 Along with scholarly work, teaching and mentoring scores of students, professional service, and countless public engagements, that productivity included massive fundraising and the cultivation of donors for the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies, a topic she discussed in the one *Festschrift* essay I was unable to connect with those in this book: Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "For What Has Erasmus to Do with Money? Desiderius Erasmus, a Paragonic Fund-Raiser," in *Collaboration, Conflict, and Continuity in the Reformation: Essays in Honour of James M. Estes on his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: 2014), 125–43.

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